BERNARD F. REILLY

THE KINGDOM OF LEÓN-CASTILLA UNDER *Queen Urraca*

1109-1126

Queen Urraca, the first woman to rule a Spanish kingdom in her own right, was an able, tenacious monarch who passionately defended the tradition and prerogatives of her realm against the stress of civil war and the Muslim threat from the South. In a study of a neglected and important part of Spanish history, Bernard Reilly examines Urraca's reign and sheds light on the entire period between 1037 and 1127 in León-Castilla, then the greatest Christian kingdom in northern Spain.

From heretofore scattered documents the author establishes a firm chronology of the reign. To his narrative he adds individual chapters on the royal court and its institutions, on the resources and powers of the crown, on the organization and government of the countryside, on the government of towns, and on the organization of the church.

Here presented is a systematic explanation of the events of a period that saw the emergence of modern Portugal, the rise of Aragón to a major position among the kingdoms of Iberia, and the reconsolidation of royal power in León-Castilla itself after profound crises of succession. Urraca, León-Castilla's only medieval queen regnant, emerges as a woman able to prevail against extraordinary odds.

Bernard F. Reilly is Professor of History at Villanova University.

JACKET: The citadel at Zamora from south of the Duero. PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES F. POWERS.

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CREATIVE COMMONS

To Marge:
INDOMITABLE WIFE

PREFACE

THIS book owes its inception to a suggestion made by Luis Sánchez Belda, Director of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, in the spring of 1977. I was discussing with him my plans for a study of Urraca's chancery, and he observed that the time was probably ripe for a full history of her reign. My initial reaction was polite skepticism, but subsequent reflection led me to agree.

I had been working, at the time, for thirteen years with the documents of the Archivo and those of virtually all the cathedral archives of north central and western Spain, and the great eighteenth-century compilations of copies of documents reposing in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia were familiar to me. In addition, a series of discrete studies on the chancery of Alfonso VII and on the chronicles of the twelfth century put me in a position to gauge realistically the work entailed and the likelihood of completing it successfully. Under these circumstances, Señor Belda's observation came, more and more, to make great good sense to me and to constitute a considerable challenge as well.

As all Spanish medievalists are aware, the one hundred twenty years spanning the reigns of Fernando I (1037-1065), Alfonso VI (1065-1109), Urraca (1109-1126), and Alfonso VII (1126-1157) in León-Castilla have been neglected. No one of the four has inspired a biography.[1] With the exception of the incomplete work of Peter Rassow, the documents of none

[1] Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador* (León, 1979), is a beginning that depends, however, far too heavily on the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* for both information and interpretation and neglects the documentation.

have been critically examined and edited.[2] Yet in this period León-Castilla was incontestably the greatest Christian kingdom in the peninsula and leader of the *Reconquista*. From this context an independent Portugal was born, the kingdom of Aragón consolidated, and an additional quarter of the peninsula's land mass reclaimed from Islam.

The same century and a half saw the spread of Romanesque architecture and the Carolingian script from France to Spain. Both Cluniac monasticism and the Gregorian reform reworked the structures of the Spanish ecclesiastical world. The refoundation and rapid growth of towns and the reintroduction of the coinage of money gave evidence of a society ready to appropriate and channel these new techniques and concepts to its own purposes.

It is not that all of these phenomena have been neglected by Spanish medievalists. There have been valuable studies of individual cathedrals, editions of the documents of many cathedrals and monasteries, treatments of specific movements such as the Cluniac reform and of the revolts of the towns. What has not been done is the sort of synthetic, political history of a reign or reigns, that would supply the context in which these movements developed, against which they reacted, and with which they combined. General surveys aside, the sole modern attempt to provide a work of this sort has been Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, for the reign of Alfonso VI.[3] In my opinion, however, the very considerable merit of that study is vitiated by its ideological baggage. There is too much reliance on the essential historical accuracy of a piece of imaginative literature, itself the prod-

[2] "Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons VII von Spanien," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1928):327-468, and 11 (1930):66-137. Rassow had only limited access to archival materials, and his work needs to be developed in the light of new materials. For the early reign of Alfonso VII see Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):243-261.

[3] *La España del Cid*, 2 vols., 5th ed. (Madrid, 1956). The number of editions through which this work has gone is testimony both to the intrinsic interest of the period and to the lack of other work bearing on it.

uct of a period when to be Castilian was to suspect the worth of all things Leonese.[4] The *Cid* himself is made the protagonist not only of Castilian superiority but also of the Mozárabic liturgy, of Hispanic distinctiveness in Europe, and of an antiaristocratic attitude, in a fashion that tells us more about the Spain of Alfonso XIII than that of Alfonso VI.

Given that the entire period was in need of a historian, I chose the reign of Urraca because it was the most crucial, least understood, and most easily managed of the four.[5] It was most crucial because it was the only time during the Spanish medieval period that a woman ruled in her own right for some seventeen years. That unprecedented event opened the possibility of the union of León-Castilla and Aragón by a marriage, which eventually failed, and of the disintegration of the kingdom of León-Castilla, constructed so rapidly by Fernando I and Alfonso VI and subject to such enormous strains at the latter's death.

It is the most manageable because it is the shortest of the four reigns and the most restricted in terms of geographic extent. Neither recommendation is inconsiderable in a period for which the historian has most often to be his own archivist, paleographer, and diplomatist as well. If one cannot ignore the problems of the origin of an independent Portugal and of the dynamic growth of Aragón—Queen Urraca was essentially on the defensive in regard to both developments—they can at least be considered under the limited rubric of foreign policy.

The reign of Queen Urraca is perhaps the least understood

[4] I find the recent redating of the *Cantar del mio Cid* to the early thirteenth century, in contrast with Menéndez Pidal's dating to the first half of the twelfth, convincing. See Colin Smith, *Poema de mio Cid* (Oxford, 1972), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[5] Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España de los orígines a la baja Edad Media*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1955), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 387: "La muerte del conde Raimundo de Borgoña era, en realidad, el primero de los sucesos que, al acumularse en el breve espacio de dos años, han de iniciar uno de los periodos más agitados y confusos de la historia del Imperio hispánico leonés. . . ."

because contemporary and subsequent historians alike have been so disappointed in it. On the whole, contemporaries disliked the marriage of Urraca and King Alfonso I of Aragón, but they disliked also the tumult and civil war that resulted from its disruption and regarded both as the natural products of sole rule by a woman. Modern historians have, by and large, been fascinated by the prospects the marriage seemed to offer and have regretted the loss of this early opportunity for the political unification of Spain. In either case, the prevailing tendency has been to consider Urraca's reign as a kind of interregnum to be discussed and dismissed as quickly as possible. The result has been unfortunate and fundamentally mistaken. Certainly Urraca's sex contributed a special dimension to the problems of the kingdom, but these problems were the logical result of policies and events during the reign of her father, Alfonso VI, and would have required resolution in any case. I do not see any grounds for insisting that a male heir would have found better solutions for them than Urraca did. Although her solutions were partial and pragmatic ones, they laid the basis for the brilliant reign of her son, Alfonso VII, who succeeded to the throne of a kingdom at peace at Urraca's death in 1126.

The resources for a history of León-Castilla under Urraca are considerable. I am aware of 118 charters and documents of the queen herself that survive in whole or part. Another 24 of her son, Alfonso, and her daughter, Sancha, date to Urraca's reign. I am familiar with at least 900 other private documents between 1109 and 1126 that furnish useful information about the queen and her government.

Four roughly contemporary literary accounts are of sufficient utility to merit brief comment here. The "Historia Compostelana" is the most important of these and covers the entire period from 1109 to 1126 and more. A very complex work of multiple authorship, it must be used with care, for it is essentially an episcopal *gesta* of Diego Gelmírez, bishop and then archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, and very

partisan in its commentary.[6] Because Gelmírez was by turns a chief supporter and antagonist of Urraca, his biography contains a mine of information on events in the period. Roughly similar in nature is "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún,"[7] an account of the fortunes and misfortunes of the most important royal abbey of León-Castilla from the beginning of Urraca's reign until 1117. Although its interest also is something else than the history of the reign as such, Sahagún was so central to the realm and its dynasty that again it supplies invaluable if erratic information. The *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo* ends with the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 but does illuminate the marital and succession policies of that monarch and so is useful for the circumstances of Urraca's accession.[8] Finally, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* treats the period of Urraca's son, Alfonso VII, but illustrates as well the conditions of the last days of his mother's reign.[9] Other chronicles and annals furnish sporadic but not unimportant notices.

After the first half of the twelfth century there is a hiatus in historical writing in León-Castilla. When it resumes in the thirteenth century, the "Chronicon Mundi" of Bishop

[6] There is no modern critical edition of the work, although I have been advised that one is in preparation. Enrique Flórez published the full text from a limited number of manuscripts in the eighteenth century, *España sagrada*, vol. 20 (Madrid, 1765). See also Bernard F. Reilly, "Existing Manuscripts of the 'Historia Compostelana': Notes toward a Critical Edition," *Manuscripta* 15 (1971):131-152. Since 1971 the existence of three more manuscripts has come to my attention. For one, see David Mackenzie, "A Manuscript of the 'Historia Compostelana,' " *Manuscripta* 18 (1974):173-174. A translation of the Flórez edition by Manuel Suarez, with very useful notes by José Campelo, is the *Historia Compostelana* (Santiago de Compostela, 1950). For a consideration of the form and authorship of the work see Bernard F. Reilly, "The 'Historia Compostelana': The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish 'Gesta,' " *Speculum* 44 (1969):78-85.

[7] A contemporary account that has survived only in a sixteenth-century Spanish translation is transcribed by Julio Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):7-26, 111-122, 242-257, 339-356, 395-419, 512-519; and 77:51-59, 151-161.

[8] Edited by Benito Sánchez Alonso (Madrid, 1924).

[9] Edited by Luis Sánchez Belda (Madrid, 1950), with valuable notes.

Lucas of Túy is already badly informed concerning Urraca.[10] The "De rebus Hispaniae" of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada of Toledo[11] and the *Primera crónica general*, produced under the patronage of Alfonso X, are sometimes useful but are thoroughly colored by the literature of the vernacular epic and must be consulted with extreme caution.[12]

During the modern period Queen Urraca has had no historian of her own. The great eighteenth-century Augustinian historian, Enrique Flórez, devoted a generally judicious chapter to her in *Memorias de las reinas católicas de España*.[13] But the only English work on her, a chapter in E. L. Miron, *The Queens of Aragon*, is full of errors.[14]

This book was undertaken, then, not only with a conviction that it is needed but also with a firm realization of its possibilities. What the circumstances seemed to require above all was a reliable *regesta* that would establish for the first time a firm chronology of the entire reign and make available notices of every known charter of Urraca, the pertinent private documents, and the contemporary literary sources. On the basis of these I have attempted cautiously to draw conclusions about the main outlines of her policies and to furnish a sketch of the main institutions of her government, of the church, and of the towns as they appear in the documents of her time. I have eschewed, as much as possible, drawing more sweeping conclusions about the general development of the latter in the kingdom of León-Castilla because of the

[10] The only printed version is in Andreas Schottus, ed., *Hispaniae Illustratae* (Frankfurt, 1608), 4:1-116. Of the narrative sources of the period discussed above, the author knew only Bishop Pelayo's *Crónica*. See Bernard F. Reilly, "Sources of the Fourth Book of Lucas of Túy's 'Chronicon Mundi,' " *Classical Folia* 30 (1976):127-137. A critical edition is sorely needed.

[11] Reprinted recently (Valencia, 1968) but innocent of study or critical apparatus.

[12] Edited splendidly by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1955).

[13] (Madrid, 1761), pp. 311-357.

[14] Reprinted from the 1913 edition (Port Washington, N.Y., 1970), pp. 43-61.

dearth of detailed studies for the reigns of her grandfather, father, and son.

I have avoided for the most part the sort of inferences proper to biography because the materials vital to a biographical approach simply do not exist. I have also avoided social and economic history because the critical editing of documents necessary for such a task has scarcely more than well begun. Although this account may seem pedestrian to some, I will be well content if it provides a trustworthy foundation for the future, and more exciting, work of others.

Because of the scattered and sometimes obscure nature of the documents, when citing a document for the first time I have tried to include references to every copy and printing unless it has been properly edited. Subsequent notices are to the most reliable copy or to the most available published copy. After much pondering, I have decided to render every proper name of a Spanish person or place in the Spanish. That should cause little hardship, if some impatience, and it does have the modest virtue of consistency.

To thank everyone who helped in the production of a work of this sort is of course impossible. But I must acknowledge again, with thanks, that the original idea was Sr. Sánchez Belda's. I am very grateful to Charles Julian Bishko for his kind help over many years and especially for his reading of the entire book in typescript and his helpful comments upon it. Lynn Nelson was so kind as to review Chapter Two for me. My son, Stephen Reilly, devoted much care to making the accompanying maps both accurate and intelligible. Finally, Elizabeth Polkowski has to be the world's fastest, most efficient, and pleasant typist.

Egregious errors, blatant omissions, and outrageous interpretations are entirely my own.

Bernard F. Reilly

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MAPS

Spain in 1109
Northern Spain in 1114
Northern Spain in 1126
Urracan Government

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Anthologica Annua*
AC	Archivo de la Catedral de . . .
Acad. Hist.	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
AD	Archivo Diocesano de . . .
AEM	*Anuario de Estudios Medievales*
AE	Archivo Episcopal de . . .
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHDE	*Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español*
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AL	*Archivos Leoneses*
ARG	Archivo del Reino de Galicia, La Coruña
ASI	Archivo de San Isidoro, León
BCM	*Boletín de la Comisión Monumental de . . .*
BIEA	*Boletín del Instituto del Estudios Asturianos*
BIFG	*Boletín de la Institución Fernan González*
BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BRAH	*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*
CEG	*Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*
CH	*Cuadernos de Historia*
CHE	*Cuadernos de Historia de España*
DHE	*Diccionario de Historia de España*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DHP	*Dicionário de História de Portugal*
DMP	*Documentos Medievais Portugueses*
EDMP	*Estudios Dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*
EEMCA	*Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*
ES	*España Sagrada*

GAKS	*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*
HC	Historia Compostelana
HS	*Hispania Sacra*
J-W	Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificium Romanorum*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PMH	*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*
RABM	*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*
RPH	*Revista Portuguesa de História*
SM	*Studia Monastica*

Archival Terms

Armario	cabinet
Becerro	cartulary
Cajon	chest
Carpeta	folder
Estante	shelf
Legajo	bundle
Rollo	roll
Signatura	number
Tumbo	cartulary

THE KINGDOM OF LEÓN-CASTILLA UNDER QUEEN URRACA: 1109-1126

ONE

TOWARD PENINSULAR HEGEMONY: LEÓN-CASTILLA IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

THE eleventh century in Christian Spain was a time of precipitous, disorderly, and violent growth. Then, more clearly than at any other time, the northern half of the Iberian peninsula exhibited the same raw vitality seeking expression in new or transformed political, social, religious, and cultural forms that marked the whole of western and central Europe from Trondheim to the Tiber and from Angers to Budapest. The currents of political and economic expansion, religious reorganization, and cultural experimentation so variously reflected in the rise of the Norman empire and the German Salian monarchy, the awakening of the towns, the Cluniac and the Gregorian reorganization of the western church, and the Romanesque revolution in architecture all found echoes and analogues in Spain north of the Duero and Ebro rivers. The eleventh century provides perhaps the best commentary on the old, disputed question of the nature of the relationship of Spain to the rest of Europe.[1]

[1] The history of the eleventh century in Spain, like that of the first half of the twelfth century, for the most part remains to be written. It is symptomatic that in the Espasa-Calpe series, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, a gap occurs between the volume by Justo Pérez de Urbel and Ricardo Del Arco y Garay, *Historia de España: España cristiana, comienzo de la reconquista (711-1038)*, vol. 6, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1964), and the volume on the fourteenth century. In the Instituto Gallach series, Julian María Rubio et al., *Historia de España*, vol. 2, *La alta Edad Media*, rev. ed. (Barcelona, 1970), the coverage is much more general but the treatment of the non-Castilian realms is fuller.

The single most useful general history in Spanish is Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España de los orígenes a la baja Edad Media*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1955). More recently two brilliantly conceived surveys

In the Spanish Christian world the immediate antecedents to this frenetic growth were somber and unpromising. That condition too is not without parallels elsewhere in Europe, but the Iberian situation was special, at least in degree. During the eighteen years between 985 and 1002 the fortunes of all the northern Christian principalities of Spain had reached their lowest ebb in a century. During that period the armies of the Caliphate of Córdoba had repeatedly defeated individual and combined efforts at defense. The Muslim general and effective dictator, Almanzor, took and sacked Barcelona, Burgos, León, Zamora, and even Santiago de Compostela in the far reaches of Galicia. The fortunes of the Christian dynasts of the north were determined from Córdoba.

This abject condition continued until 1008 under Almanzor's son and successor, Abd-al-Malik. The latter's sudden death in that year, however, together with his younger brother's attempt to usurp the office of caliph, led to the spectacular and irremediable collapse of the Córdoban caliphate. The attendant loss of political unity in the Spanish Muslim world and the rise of the particularist states called *taifas* were preconditions for the renewed southward advance of the northern principalities in the eleventh century.

The phenomenon cannot, however, be satisfactorily explained in purely political terms. Even at the height of Almanzor's successes military victory had not been accompanied by effective Muslim occupation of the northern territories. Although the subject, like many other aspects of the tenth-century European experience, remains largely unexplored, it seems that the north was experiencing a growth of population that found no opposing response in the world of Spanish Islam. This increasing northern population continued to press southward along the lines of the Duero and Ebro regardless of political fluctuations. Almanzor himself

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have appeared: José Luis Martín, *La península en la Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1976), and José Ángel García de Cortázar, *Historia de España Alfaguera*, vol. 2, *La época medieval* (Madrid, 1973). The best work in English is Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975).

had had to seek military resources among the Berber peoples in North Africa to offset it in a way that prefigures the appeal of Spanish Islam to the Murābit power a century later.

The breakup of the Córdoban caliphate and the subsequent relaxation of its pressure on the north posed with new urgency the question of who would assume the direction and gain the recognition of this growing society. Certainly the major advantages for such an undertaking lay with the dynasty of León, heir to the old myth of the Asturian crown that traced its origin to the eighth-century Visigothic kingdom, to Pelayo, Covadonga, and the initiation of the Reconquista. In the late eighth and ninth centuries the kingdom had extended its influence over Galicia, the Bierzo, León, and sometimes Castilla. Thus, it was incomparably the largest of the northern states and the one to which the still numerous subject Christians of Islamic Spain, the Mozárabs, looked as legitimate authority.

At the death of Abd-al-Malik, Almanzor's son, in 1008, Alfonso V of León was fourteen years old. In the following two decades he reorganized and rebuilt the Leonese principality. He reasserted his authority against the separatist county of Castilla and wrested from it the control of the lands between the Cea and Pisuerga rivers, what is now the province of Palencia. But having taken the offensive against Islam in the far west, he was killed while besieging Viseu some fifty kilometers south of the Duero in 1028. His son, Vermudo III (1028-1037), succeeded his father at the age of nine and for another decade political preponderance lay elsewhere.[2]

Of the other northern principalities of the peninsula, the county of Barcelona was as yet an aggregation of petty domains. Count Ramón Borrell I of Barcelona (992-1018) and his brother, Count Armengol of Urgel, had sacked Córdoba in 1010, but that was largely a plundering expedition invited by partisan strife in Andalucía. Permanent expansion south-

[2] For the reigns of Alfonso V and Vermudo III the best short treatment is Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, *El "regnum-imperium" leonés hasta 1037* (Madrid, 1951).

ward was and would continue to be blocked by strong Muslim communities at Tarragona, Lérida, Barbastro, and, above all, by the taifa kingdom taking shape at Zaragoza. For another century there was no vacuum for movement such as existed in central and western Spain between the Río Duero and the Sierra de Guadarrama.[3]

Count Sancho García of Castilla (995-1017) also had sacked Córdoba in 1009, but this too was a military adventure without fundamental significance. The organization of the taifa kingdom of Toledo, whose northeastern border would adjoin that of Zaragoza, squeezed Castilla westward against León. At Count Sancho García's death in 1017, Alfonso V of León despoiled the young Count García Sánchez (1017-1029) of the western half of his territory.[4]

When Alfonso V of León was killed at Viseu in 1028, the dynasty of Navarra took advantage of the opportunity. The course of the subsequent decade was unexpected, extraordinary, and of lasting significance for the evolution of northern Spain. The ruler of Navarra, Sancho *el Mayor* (1000-1035), at that point possessed not only Navarra but also the minuscule counties of Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza; the Basque provinces; and the upper Ebro district of Rioja down to the vicinity of Burgos itself. Count Berenguer Ramón of Barcelona (1018-1035) was his dependent. In addition Sancho's sister, Urraca, was the widow of Alfonso V of León and he himself was married to the sister of García Sánchez, the young count of Castilla.[5]

Following the death of Alfonso V the Castilian count negotiated a marriage contract with the sister of the young Vermudo III that would have secured the return of the lands between the Cea and the Pisuerga and thereby bolstered his

[3] For the development of Barcelona, see Ferran Soldevila, ed., *Historia dels Catalans*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1964).

[4] Justo Pérez de Urbel, *El condado de Castilla*, 3 vols., 2d ed. (Madrid, 1969), is the standard work on the emergence of Castilla.

[5] Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sancho el Mayor de Navarra* (Madrid, 1950), is one of the few studies of an individual monarch and his reign for this period.

position in relation to both León and Navarra. Before the marriage could be celebrated, however, the young count was assassinated in the city of León in 1029.

The Navarrese king immediately claimed Castilla in his wife's name. He installed his second son, Fernando, as count and then arranged the latter's marriage to Vermudo III's sister with the same dowry of the borderlands between Castilla and León . Gradually he continued his encroachment on the domains of the young Vermudo III. In 1034 he seized control of the city of León itself, styling himself "imperator" on his coins, and forced Vermudo to seek refuge in Galicia. Then, in 1035, Sancho died and Vermudo III immediately repossessed León.

The dynastic and political restructuring of the northern principalities that was to dominate their history for the next seventy-five years now began. Of transcendent importance was the emergence of the new kingdom of León-Castilla but under the dynasty of Navarra.

The first step in this process came very quickly, when Vermudo III of León launched a campaign to recover the lands between the Cea and the Pisuerga. Fernando of Castilla, supported by the troops of his older brother, García Sánchez III, who had inherited Navarra, the Basque provinces, and Rioja from their father, defeated and killed Vermudo at Tamarón on September 4, 1037. Because the latter perished without an heir, Fernando and Sancha, Vermudo's sister, were quickly recognized in the kingdom of León and Fernando was anointed king in León on June 22, 1038.

A second, somewhat less important step was taken seventeen years later. This time Fernando responded to an invasion of his Castilian territories by his brother, García Sánchez III of Navarra. At Atapuerca on September 15, 1054 he defeated and killed the king of Navarra. Fernando proved generous in victory, allowing his brother's son, Sancho García IV, to succeed his father on the condition of becoming his vassal. Of the traditionally Castilian lands then part of

Navarra, Fernando required the return of only the Bureba district, on the west bank of the upper Ebro around Oña.

Nevertheless, the unchallengeable preeminence of León-Castilla among the northern Christian realms was clear. In the extreme east Count Ramón Berenguer I (1035-1076) was largely occupied with consolidating the territory of Barcelona. In Aragón the illegitimate son of Sancho el Mayor, Ramiro I (1035-1063), enlarged his inheritance by acquiring the counties of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza on the death of his half brother, Gonzalo, in 1045.[6] But the great opportunities presented themselves to Fernando *el Magno* of León-Castilla and he proved more than able to capitalize on them.

The continuing "war of all upon all" in the world of Spanish Islam opened, by turns, two avenues of advance for Fernando I. He availed himself of both.

On the one hand, by great raids or threats of them and by supporting one Muslim faction against another, he compelled the taifas to recognize his overlordship at least to the extent of paying sizeable annual tributes, or *parias*. By the time of his death in 1065, Fernando had reduced the great taifas most accessible from his realm, Badajoz, Sevilla, Toledo, and Zaragoza, to tributary status. Over Zaragoza, beset by the other northern princes as well, Fernando found it necessary to establish a virtual Leonese protectorate in order to secure sole right to its tribute.

On the other hand, at limited points along the frontier it was possible to wrest discrete strategic territories from his Muslim adversaries and to garrison and repopulate them. In the west this was accomplished at the expense of Badajoz when he reconquered Lamego and Viseu in 1055 and Coimbra in 1064, driving a long Christian salient south along the Atlantic coastline from the Duero to the Río Mondego. In the east Fernando's gains were more modest. In 1060 he reconquered the fortresses of Berlanga and San Esteban de

[6] José María Ramos y Loscertales, *El reino de Aragón bajo la dinastía pamplonesa* (Salamanca, 1961), is the essential guide.

Gormaz, which controlled the entry to the upper *meseta* of León-Castilla from either Zaragoza or Toledo and facilitated Fernando's own raids into those taifas. Together these conquests made safer the informal and gradual repopulation of the trans-Duero north of the Guadarramas, for attacks from the south were almost impossible except through the passes of the Guadarramas themselves.

The Leonese-Castilian hegemony established in the north by Fernando I was, at his death in December 1065, disrupted by the provisions of his will. Dismembering his empire, he awarded León and the parias of Toledo to Alfonso VI (1065-1109), his second son. To Sancho II (1065-1072) went Castilla and the parias of Zaragoza. García (1065-1071), the youngest, received a kingdom of Galicia and the parias of Badajoz and Sevilla.[7] Not surprisingly, the next seven years were marked by fratricidal strife in which Sancho of Castile defeated and forced into exile first García (1071) and then Alfonso (1072). The assassination of Sancho before Zamora in October 1072 allowed the return of Alfonso, who, imprisoning his brother García until the latter's death in 1090, entered into the full inheritance of his father. From then until his death thirty-seven years later, Alfonso VI built steadily upon the foundations laid by his father.

Alfonso VI maintained the ascendancy of León-Castilla among the Christian principalities. The assassination in 1076 of his brother Sancho García IV furnished the occasion for annexation of Rioja and most of the Basque provinces.[8] At the same time, however, Ramiro I of Aragón seized the opportunity to join the remainder of Navarra to his territories. During the years that followed, Pedro I of Aragón (1094-1104) and his brother, Alfonso I (1104-1134), made their realm the second Christian power in the peninsula by the conquest

[7] García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 288-289.

[8] Gregorio de Balparda y las Herrarias, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y de sus fueros*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1924 and Bilbao, 1933-34), and Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Alava medieval*, vol. I (Vitoria, 1974), treat the significance of this initiative.

first of Huesca in 1096 and then of Barbastro in 1101 at the expense of the taifa of Zaragoza.[9] Just before his death, Alfonso VI arranged the marriage of his heir and daughter, Urraca, to Alfonso I of Aragón.

The county of Barcelona meanwhile experienced few permanent successes against its Muslim neighbors although its policy was often ambitious. Ramón Berenguer I (1035-1076) had unified its territories, but his inheritance of Razès, Béziers, and Agde in 1066 from a cousin in Carcassonne and the acquisition of the county of Provence in 1112 through the marriage of Ramón Berenguer III (1097-1131) tended to turn the attention of the counts northward.

The monarch of Castilla, after annexing Rioja, had turned his attention to what was to be the most significant achievement of the Reconquista in the eleventh century, the conquest of the taifa of Toledo in 1085 and the permanent reestablishment of Leonese control south of the Sierra de Guadarrama. His eventual successor was born into this climactic period.

No known chronicler recorded the birth of Urraca. Much later, in official documents, she would style herself "daughter of King Alfonso and Queen Constance." In the varied matrimonial career of her father, Constance of Burgundy, daughter of Duke Robert the Old, was the second of Alfonso's wives. The first, Agnes, daughter of Duke William VIII of Aquitaine, apparently produced no children who survived. The last mention of Agnes occurs in a donation of Alfonso VI to Cluny on May 22, 1077.[10]

[9] Both brothers have been more closely studied than most other monarchs of the period; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra* (Saragossa, 1951), and José María Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971). The latter, however, is far from the full-scale biography or history that its subject deserves.

[10] Alexandre Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 4:625-626. Agnes's death has frequently been given as June 6, 1078, based on a garbled notice in the "Annales Compostellani," ed. Enrique Flórez, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 23:322. The notice more probably refers to her half sister of identical name, who was married to

The first documentary notice of the new queen, Constance, occurs almost two years later in a donation of Alfonso to the church of Burgos on May 1, 1079.[11] For fourteen years she was his consort, making a final appearance in a royal grant to the monastery of Sahagún on October 25, 1093. Not quite a month later, on November 22, 1093, her husband donated a portion of her property to the same monastery, where she was interred beside Agnes.[12]

Alfonso's first two wives reflect the Leonese monarch's interest in securing assistance from beyond the Pyrenees for his peninsular ambitions. They also reflect the mounting impact of more general western European forces on affairs in Spain. The spreading influence of Cluny, encouraged by the dynasty of León itself; the attempted assertion of papal he-

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Peter I of Aragón. The French Chronicle of St. Maixent says that she was repudiated by Alfonso; see Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903), 1:307-308 and n. 1. In any event, Agnes was buried, as were three other spouses of Alfonso subsequently, at the royal monastery of Sahagún; Julio Puyol y Alonso, *El abadengo de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 17-18 and n. 1.

[11] BN, Sección de Manuscritos, signatura 9.194, fol. 200, published in Flórez, *ES*, 26:458-463, with the date as May 1, 1075. Neither the chancery nor charters of Alfonso VI have been critically studied; consequently they must be employed with caution. Although I have done some work toward such a study it is still difficult to speak with full certainty concerning many of his charters. Constance, however, appears in four other charters of Alfonso the ensuing year.

[12] October 25, 1093; AHN, Sección de Códices, 988B, fols. 17v-18r, and 989B, fol. 4v; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 490-491. November 22, 1093; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 4; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 493-494.

Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1947), p. 389 and n. 2, places her death on the first of these dates, based on yet another charter of Alfonso to Sahagún, October 25, 1093; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 7. Other copies of this document exist in AHN, Sección de Clero, carpeta 887, nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The earliest of these is no. 12, a twelfth-century copy. Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 491-493, publishes it. Although Constance does not confirm this charter, she is twice associated in it with her husband, and prayers are asked for both of them.

gemony over the peninsula; the increasing frequency of visits by papal legates; and papal interest in directing French crusading forces south toward Spain all made an alliance of the Leonese house with at least some of these foreign interests imperative. In addition to his French marriages, Alfonso also began to adopt the imperial title to strengthen his Iberian claims and position.[13]

This was the milieu throughout Urraca's childhood, marriage, and reign. The appearance of Constance as Alfonso's wife is closely associated with the installation of a French Cluniac monk, Bernard of Sauvetot, as abbot of the royal monastery at Sahagún in 1080. Five years later, the conquest of Toledo finally achieved, Bernard became its new archbishop and primate of Spain, and thence the chief adviser and minister of Alfonso VI and then Urraca until his death in the spring of 1125.

The Muslim reaction to the fall of Toledo and the subsequent siege by Alfonso of the great northern taifa of Zaragoza in 1086 created an even greater need for foreign assist-

[13] What may best be called the international policy of the dynasty of Fernando el Magno has been closely explored over the years by Charles Julian Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," *SM* 3 (1961):53-76; "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Adminsitration," *SM* 7 (1965):305-356; "Fernando I y los orígenes de la alianza castellano leonesa con Cluny," *CHE* 47-48 (1968):31-135, and 49-50 (1969):50-116; "The Abbey of Dueñas and the Cult of St. Isidore of Chios in the County of Castile (10th-11th Centuries)," *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel*, ed. Ernesto Zaragoza and Quintiliano Tajadura (Silos, 1977), 2:345-364. Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien* (Kallmünz, 1974), has enlarged on some of Bishko's findings. Older works of Paul Kehr, "El papado y los reinos de Navarra y Aragón hasta mediados del siglo XII," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):74-186, and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid, 1950), and *La España del Cid*, 2 vols., 5th ed. (Madrid, 1956), also address the question of necessity. Although I have benefited greatly from all these studies, I remain uneasy about inferring from them the motivations and reactions of Alfonso VI, because the fundamental paleographic and diplomatic examination of his charters has not been done. The particular questions are not germane here, however, and those that are will be addressed as they arise.

ance. The taifa kings of Andalucía had appealed to the North African Murābit Emir Yusuf, who disembarked in the peninsula in 1086. Alfonso raised the siege of Zaragoza and marched to meet this new enemy but was badly defeated at Zalaca, north of Badajoz, in October of that year. It was under these circumstances that Urraca's first husband, Count Raymond of Burgundy, joined his great-aunt, Constance, in the kingdom.

Raymond apparently journeyed to Spain in the expedition of Duke Eudes I in 1086-1087. When that enterprise foundered at the siege of Tudela, the duke and his nephew proceeded to León for a visit with Queen Constance. The cumulative documentary evidence suggests that almost immediately the count was betrothed to Urraca, then at most eight years old, and possibly was also married to her, for he begins to appear as the son-in-law of Alfonso VI in dating protocols.[14] The early date for this marriage has been resisted largely, one supposes, because canon law set the minimum age for marriage at twelve for women. Still, the breach of canon law in the face of dire political necessity was hardly unknown in the medieval period.

[14] I follow here the chronology of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, 1:340-341, which seems the most reasonable construction given the current state of the evidence for the betrothal. I have examined the question of the date of Raymond's accession to the countship of Galicia in "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968):472-474. To the evidence there presented I should like to add the following two references: October 28, 1086; Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar y Castro, sig. O-16, fol. 551, a late copy of a private document; and March 31, 1090; AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, AC Palencia, rollos 1.658 and 1.659, nos. 8 and 27, respectively. Additional copies of the latter document are contained in AHN, Microfilmas; AC Zamora, rollo 7.964, no. 3; and Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, sig. O-17, fols. 211r-217r; Colección de Catedrales de España, Palencia, sig. 9-25-1-C-6, fols. 24r-31r. It has been published by Pedro Fernando del Pulgar, *Historia secular y eclesiástica de la ciudad de Palencia* (Madrid, 1680), 1:123-125. Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), p. 61, n. 69, also reports that Raymond's sepulchral inscription gave Urraca's age as eight at the time of her marriage.

Whatever the date of Urraca's marriage, by the spring of 1087 a powerful southern French nexus had formed about the throne. Alfonso had a Burgundian wife, a Cluniac primate, and a Burgundian son-in-law. It has also been asserted that his other eventual son-in-law, Count Henry of Burgundy, had also arrived at the same time as his cousin Raymond, but the documentary evidence here is much more slight.[15]

The "Chronicon Compostelanum" asserts that Alfonso had already promised his realm to Raymond, but that later testimony may reflect an understanding reached subsequently.[16] In 1087 Alfonso would still have had reason to expect heirs from Queen Constance, and failing that, his younger brother, García, was still alive although a closely guarded prisoner. Nevertheless, the position of Raymond was from the beginning a powerful one, and the king would naturally have desired some guarantee for his responsible behavior. It is probably in this context that we should understand the purported royal choice of Count Pedro Ansúrez as a guardian for the young Urraca.[17] If the consummation of the marriage was delayed, the presence of the young *infanta* in the household of this powerful and trusted Leonese magnate would prevent the too rapid growth of ambition in the Burgundian count. Thus, the influence of Raymond at this time depended almost totally on the crown and the court, for neither do his own subsequent documents indicate that he brought with him any considerable body of French warriors nor do modern investigations suggest that such an influx, of which he

[15] José Ramón Castro, "La reconquista de las tierras del Ebro," *Principe de Viana* 7 (1946):674-675. April 18, 1088, AHN, Clero, carp. 960, no. 2, mentions a "comite enric" in lands associated with the Leonese monastery of Eslonza. This identification has been accepted, Joel Serräo, ed., *DHP* (Lisbon, 1971), vol. 2 s.v. "Conde D. Henrique," but no other evidence places him in the peninsula before 1096.

[16] Flórez, *ES*, 20:611.

[17] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera crónica general* (Madrid, 1955), 2:646.

might have been able to take advantage, occurred independently anywhere west of the Ebro valley.[18]

That the general composition of the royal court itself was far from entirely favorable to Count Raymond's advance can be discerned from the names of the magnates who confirm Alfonso's documents. Count Pedro Ansúrez had accompanied the young Alfonso into exile in 1072. Since then this magnate of Carrión and Saldaña, founder of Valladolid, had appeared constantly in the royal diplomas and would continue to do so until 1103. Most of these diplomas his brother-in-law and master of Simancas and Tordesillas, Count Martín Adefónsez, confirmed also. Then there is Count García Ordoñez of Nájera and Calahorra, constantly in the documents with Alfonso VI until 1107. From Castile came the royal standard-bearer, *alférez*, of these years and the subsequent count of Lara, Pedro González. Not quite so often at court was Count Fernando Díaz of Asturias, whose power lay on the other side of the Cordillera Cantábrica.

These nobles and others soon to be mentioned were a remarkably stable and enduring group about the crown, the mainstays of Alfonso VI's quite successful reign. Count Raymond, like his contemporary Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar, the Cid, would find it difficult or impossible to penetrate or alter that inner circle and its purposes. Raymond did not fail for want of trying, but his initial career was hesitant and slow to take direction.

It may be that Raymond's appointment as count in Galicia provoked the revolt there led by Count Rodrigo Ovequiz. That uprising must be dated sometime after April 25, 1087, when Rodrigo confirmed a donation of the Infanta Elvira, Alfonso VI's sister, to the church of Santiago de Compostela, and before June 18, 1088, when Alfonso VI donated his

[18] Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 2:108. See also Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:285.

confiscated possessions to the cathedral of Lugo.[19] The twelfth-century "Historia Compostelana" relates that the intention of the rebels was to surrender Galicia to William the Conqueror. One is tempted to dismiss the notion as fanciful, but its widespread acceptance in the twelfth century merits further investigation.[20]

As ever, unsuccessful rebellion offered the opportunity to reinforce royal authority, and a strengthened royal authority meant at this point a strengthened position in Galicia for the new Burgundian count. At a subsequent council, held at the little Castilian town of Husillos near Palencia in March 1088, Alfonso reorganized much of the episcopacy in the extreme west of his kingdom. With the aid of the papal legate Richard, Abbot of Saint Victor of Marseilles, Bishop Diego Peláez of Santiago de Compostela was deposed. The bishop had perhaps been involved in the rebellion and had certainly been appointed by Alfonso's brother, Sancho II. Additionally, he may have been reluctant to accept the Roman Mass, lately substituted for the old Visigothic one.[21]

In his place Pedro, Abbot of Cardeña, was elected to the see of Santiago. Also at the council another Pedro appears as bishop-elect to the Galician see of Orense, and a Martin appears in the same category for the see of Coimbra.[22] Of the seven episcopal sees of the west, three had new bishops; only

[19] April 25, 1087; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fols. 34v-35r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:25-27 app. Another copy exists in Acad. Hist., sig. 9-27-2-E-50, in a manuscript by Santiago Estefanía, "Memorias para la vida de el Rey Don Alonso primero de Castilla y sexto de León," pp. 213-214. June 18, 1088; AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo, fols. 12v-13r; published in Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 40:422-425.

[20] Flórez, *ES*, 20:254. Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, 1:346-347, accepts the story and Atiliano González Ruiz-Zorilla, "Sobre la restauración de la diócesis de Braga en 1070," *HS* 10 (1957):431-442, has collected all the references.

[21] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:254 and Lopéz Ferreiro, *Historia*, 2:554 and 3:9.

[22] Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* XIII, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:76-78, publishes the document. A new bishop-elect for Nájera, Sigefredus, also appears in the eastern portion of the realm.

Mondoñedo, Lugo, Túy, and Braga remained as yet untouched.

While Alfonso was strengthening royal power in the northwest he also maintained generally the military, diplomatic, and administrative offensive. Between 1087 and 1090, the Murābit Emir Yusuf having withdrawn to North Africa, the king harassed the eastern lands of the taifa king al-Mutamid of Sevilla from the advanced position at the castle of Aledo in Murcia. Simultaneously he attacked the Muslim territories around Calatrava in the west. Although the new pope, the Cluniac Urban II, protested the deposition of the bishop of Compostela and placed that diocese under interdict, at the same time Urban recognized Archbishop Bernard of Toledo as primate of Spain, with metropolitan powers over all sees whose ancient archbishopric had not yet been restored, and with full administrative rights in ancient dioceses reclaimed from Muslim control but whose bishopric had not yet been restored.[23]

In 1090, however, the problems of the crown became more pressing. At a council in León in March, presided over by Cardinal Rainerius, the papal legate and future Pope Paschal II, Pedro of Cardeña, was deposed from the see of Compostela.[24] That important office would remain vacant for the next four years. At León the use of the Roman ritual was apparently reaffirmed as well.[25] Both events, however, were

[23] J-W, 5367-69. Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le liber pontificalis* (Paris, 1886), 2:293. Demetrio Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216* (Rome, 1955), pp. 39-41. Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 183-184, has recently maintained that the papal action in regard to the bishopric of Compostela was sought by Bernard of Toledo. It is clear that Bernard reported that action, taken at Husillos, but most unlikely that he opposed the initiative of his king, to which he himself was a party.

[24] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:17-18.

[25] Lucas of Túy, "Chronicon Mundi ab Origine Mundi usque ad Eram MCCLXXIV," ed. Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae Illustratae* (Frankfurt, 1608), 4:101, has confused this issue considerably by stating that the council mandated use of the Carolingian in place of the Visigothic script. The substance is likely to be, instead, the reaffirmation of the Roman rite but Lucas says

probably overshadowed by the death of Alfonso's younger brother and longtime prisoner, García, on March 22, 1090.[26] The absence of a male heir to the dynasty would have made attention to the problem of succession unavoidable. The charter of Alfonso to the church of Palencia, dated March 31, 1090, states that it was granted on the advice of Count Raymond and Urraca, and it is possible that the marriage was formalized at that time. But the charter presents diplomatic problems, and Raymond's real prominence in the official records dates to some three years later.[27] Still, recognized or not, Raymond's position as possible inheritor of the realm in his wife's or a child's right must have been much enhanced as a result of García's death.

In the same year the Leonese monarch had to face the return of the Murābits to the peninsula. In the summer of 1090 Alfonso found himself forced to defend the city of Toledo against Emir Yusuf. The attack was beaten off, but in its aftermath Yusuf deposed the Muslim rulers of Granada and Málaga and moved to consolidate his power in Andalucía. When he returned to North Africa, the emir left his cousin, Ben Abu Bakr, in the south. In the campaigns of 1091 the taifa kingdom of al-Mutamid fell; Córdoba, Sevilla, and Calatrava passed into the hands of the Murābits. Lesser kingdoms—Jaén, Almería, Denia, and Murcia—were also subdued, and the entire south except Badajoz was consolidated in the hands of Alfonso's enemy. All northern aid

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something nearly the opposite. On liturgical grounds as well as paleographic ones, he needs correction. See David, *Études*, pp. 431-439.

[26] López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 2:554-555, n. 1, gives the date from his sepulchral inscription. *Historia silense*, edited by Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorilla (Madrid, 1959), pp. 123-124, is the earliest source reporting on his interment at León and Alfonso's thoughts about him as a possible successor.

[27] The extant copies of the document are listed in note 14. The first of these may be an original, but until there has been a critical study of Alfonso's charters it will be impossible to be sure. Raymond confirms the charter but Urraca does not. Ferran Soldevila, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1952), 1:211, believes that the marriage took place at this time.

to Sevilla proved unavailing; the western captain, Sisnando David, died in October of that year, and in 1092 the eastern advance post at Aledo finally succumbed to a siege. By the fall of 1092 the pro-Murābit faction had triumphed in Valencia and only the independent exertions of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar were preventing the collapse of that eastern flank of the realm.

To meet this rapidly growing threat, the king had to resort in large measure to the self-interested services of his nobles. The Murābit victory at Zalaca in 1086 had emboldened the taifas to cease the annual tribute payments, and their lack cut very deeply into the available military funds of the crown. At the same time, in April of 1090, the king felt forced to renew his promise of an annual gift to Cluny of 2,000 gold coins.[28] He must, however, continue to exploit the unparalleled opportunity to repopulate and consolidate the 50,000 square kilometers of land between the Río Duero and the Sierra de Guadarrama, now protected by the new conquest of the taifa of Toledo.[29] This process required in turn the successful defense and population of the new realm of Toledo, of roughly the same size, between the Guadarramas and the Río Tajo.

To secure this paramount aim, the defense of the frontier was entrusted more and more to nearly autonomous magnates. In the east, Rodrigo Díaz led the resistance at Valencia as virtually an independent prince, especially after taking outright control of that city in 1094. Between Toledo and Valencia the defense was led by Alvar Fáñez, whose rise is attested by the frequency with which he now begins to confirm royal charters and by the status of folk hero that subsequent histories and annals have bestowed upon him. The center of the frontier, including the city of Toledo, was the responsibility of Count Pedro Ansúrez. He had early been

[28] Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 4:809-810. A Spanish copy exists in AHN, Clero, carp. 1.700, no. 13, fol. 3. For its significance, see Bishko, "Fernando I," *CHE* 47-48 (1968):93-99.

[29] I owe the figure to García de Cortazar, *La época medieval*, p. 186.

given property in that city and was governor of Madrid in 1095.[30] North of the Sierra de Guadarrama this trusted Leonese count was also busy with the repopulation of Cuéllar. Alfonso VI chose Raymond of Burgundy for a similar role in the far west. Inevitably that decision transformed the count into one of the great magnates of the realm.

Affairs in the nascent county of Portugal, immediately south of Raymond's Galicia, had been confused since the council at Husillos in 1088, and the historians reflect that confusion.[31] It has been suggested that Martin, elected bishop of Coimbra there, was the choice of the Mozárab Count Sisnando David, who had been entrusted with the southwestern frontier of the realm by Fernando I and, more recently, with Toledo itself by Alfonso VI for a brief period after its reconquest.[32] Apparently Martin was never consecrated, and after the death of Sisnando on August 21, 1091 the way was open for the consecration of one Cresconius as bishop of Coimbra on May 23, 1092. The new bishop was the former abbot of St. Bartholomew in Túy in Galicia. Significantly, he was consecrated by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, Bishop Pedro of Orense, and Bishop Audericus of Túy, all of whom can be closely associated with Alfonso VI's initiatives. Count Ray-

[30] González, *Repoblación*, 1:39 and 118.

[31] Martin appears as "elect" in a document of Coimbra in September 1088, *PMH, Diplomata et Chartae* (Lisbon, 1867), p. 427; but see Gérard Pradalié, "Les faux de la cathédrale et la crise à Coïmbre au début du XII[e] siècle," *Mélanges de la casa de Velazquez* 10 (1974):83. On October 12, 1091 a document cites a Bishop John; *PMH, Diplomata et Chartae*, p. 454. The Livro Preto of Coimbra tells of his election at a council at Husillos, which has resulted in the positing of a second council in 1092 or, alternatively, John's election in 1088. Both seem unlikely. For the more important views see Fortunato de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1910), 1:612-616; Pierre David s.v. "Coimbre," *DHGE*, ed. Albert DeMeyer and Etienne Van Cauwenbergh (Paris, 1956), 13:210; Avelino de Jesús da Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1959), 1:249; and Maur Cocheril, *Études sur le monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal* (Lisbon, 1966), pp. 110-111.

[32] A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York, 1972), 1:31, and Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, 1:307-308.

mond found it possible to cooperate with Cresconius when his authority shortly began to expand southward.

In May of 1093 the king transferred to Raymond the cities of Lisbon, Santarém, and Cintra.[33] With them went the task of defending the entire southwestern frontier from the Atlantic to the Sierra de Gredos. These cities were the heart of a buffer zone ceded to Alfonso by the taifa king al-Mutawakkil of Badajoz in return for his aid against the Murābit power.[34]

But it seems unlikely that Raymond could either have defended or have been expected to defend such an advanced area from his base in Galicia, even though that province then included the portion of modern Portugal between the Miño and Limia rivers. More likely the entire west, a virtual quarter of the realm, passed under his control about this time, although the evidence for such a delegation is slightly subsequent.

At one key intermediate point, Zamora, such a transfer is suggested. Pelayo Vellitez, a longtime confidant of Alfonso and former majordomo of the court, is last mentioned as "imperante in zamora sicut et coria" on May 18, 1092.[35] Sometime in 1094 Count Raymond granted a *fuero*, or local law code, to the men of a new suburb of Zamora.[36] It is not, however, until October 1, 1096 that he is formally cited as "tenente in coria et in zamorio."[37] Only with Zamora and Extremaduran Coria in his control and the kingdom of Badajoz in friendly hands was the defense of Lisbon feasible. Salamanca and Ávila were not so essential to the immediate task at hand, and his endeavor to repopulate them likely came somewhat later.

A second necessity was to have Braga in friendly hands. It

[33] "Chronica Gothorum," *PMH, Scriptores* (Lisbon, 1856), pp. 10-11.

[34] García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 374.

[35] AHN, Clero, carp. 887, no. 4.

[36] AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fols. 121v-122r; published in Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblos* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 332-333.

[37] AHN, Clero, carp. 889, no. 3.

lay within Raymond's triangular base of power of Santiago de Compostela, Túy, and Orense in Galicia and Coimbra farther south where, since the preceding year, he could count on a friendly bishop in Cresconius. But Bishop Pedro of Braga had not appeared in royal documents as a confirmant since April 29, 1088. Apparently he had not attended the council at Husillos in 1088 although its actions affected his interests. Erdmann believed that he did attend the Council of León in 1090, where he tried without success to secure the restoration of metropolitan rank for Braga.[38]

In defiance of king, council, and papal legate, Bishop Pedro then resorted to securing the recognition in 1091 of his archiepiscopal rank by the antipope Clement III, Guibert of Ravenna, and so styled himself in that year. By 1092 his actions had led to his excommunication and deposition, so that he did not take part in the consecration of Cresconius as bishop of Coimbra on May 23, 1092.[39] Already, from the end of the preceding year, Bishop Pedro had disappeared from the documents of the church of Braga and it seems had entered a monastery. But such a vacuum would have been intolerable given the military and political situation, and it is again likely that the extension of his political authority into the Braga region was necessary for Count Raymond.

This consolidation bore only partial fruit, however. At the beginning of 1094 Badajoz fell to the Murābits and al-Mutawakkil lost his life as well as his realm. Raymond moved to defend his southernmost possessions but in November of that year was defeated when he attempted to regain Lisbon, itself captured by the Africans.[40] Doubtless more reverses were avoided partly as a result of the occupation of Valencia by the Cid earlier the same year and the need of his enemies to attempt its recovery.

This diversion of the Muslim offensive gave Count Ray-

[38] Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 8-9.

[39] Demetrio Mansilla, "Formación de la provincia bracarense después de la invasión árabe," *HS* 14 (1961):8, and Costa, *O Bispo*, 1:248-250.

[40] Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, 2:794.

mond a respite in which to organize and eventually to expand his authority and influence. At Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, the base of his power, he had administered the lands of the vacant see through his delegates Pedro Vimáraz and then Arias Díaz.[41] By August 21, 1096 Diego Gelmírez, his notary, had become administrator and by the spring of 1101, bishop at Santiago.[42] The delicate process by which Raymond, with the aid of Alfonso and his royal bride, came to terms with the local Gallegan nobility and secured their support for his ambitions is well illustrated by his enlistment of these three men.[43]

At Coimbra in 1094 Raymond had broken the power of Martin Muñiz, the son-in-law of Sisnando David, with the assistance of Bishop Cresconius. This noble fled east to join first the army of the Cid and then, after the latter's death, that of Pedro I of Aragón.[44] This was neither the first time nor the last that Aragón aided the opponents of Count Raymond or Alfonso VI. After his release, presumably following the Council of León in 1090, the deposed bishop of Santiago, Diego Peláez, took refuge at the court of Pedro I, from whom he received support.[45]

In Galicia, Bishop Amor of Lugo last appears in the doc-

[41] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:18.

[42] Gelmírez appears as his notary in a number of the count's charters. November 13, 1094; *PMH, Diplomata et Chartae*, pp. 484-485. September 24, 1095; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 28v, published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:37-38 app. May 1, 1096; AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 172v-173r; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 506. The date, as it appears in the Becerro, is difficult. Escalona gives it as 1106, but Queen Constance is mentioned in the text and Bishop Osmundus of Astorga is a confirmant. Also, Diego Gelmírez confirms as scribe and "clericus Sancti Jacobi." For all these, 1096 is a preferable reading. August 21, 1096; BN, Manuscritos, 5.928, fol. 27; Acad. Hist., Cathedrales de España, Mondoñedo, 9-25-1-C-3, fols. 13r-14r; published in Flórez, *ES*, 18:340-342.

[43] I have previously discussed the play of forces that surrounded the choice of Gelmírez in "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968):472-482.

[44] Pradalié, "Faux de Coïmbre," p. 80.

[45] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "El destierro del obispo compostelano Diego Peláez en Aragón," *CEG* 5 (1951):43-51.

uments in 1095. He was succeeded in that year by one Pedro. Nothing is known of the latter's antecedents but he must have been acceptable to the count, if not selected by him. The "Historia Compostelana" claims that Bishop Pedro was one of those consulted by Count Raymond about Diego Gelmírez's advancement to the see of Santiago.[46] Bishop Pedro also appears early as a confirmant in the count's charters.[47]

The consolidation of Raymond's position is reflected clearly in these charters, which begin to appear regularly from 1094. He seems to have had at his disposal the resources of the entire fisc in Galicia and Portugal. On November 13, 1094 he made a grant to the church of Coimbra. On February 11, 1095 a grant to the church of Túy followed. September 24, 1095 saw him taking the merchants of Compostela under his protection. He exchanged properties with the monastery of San Lorenzo of Caabeiro on January 11, 1096. Another important Galician monastery, San Payo de Antealtaris, received a grant on April 10, 1096. By May 1, 1096 he was patronizing the greatest monastery of the realm, Sahagún. August 21, 1096 was the occasion of a donation to the see of Mondoñedo. On 28 March, 1098 he made another grant to San Payo. And finally, another charter was given to the Gallegan monastery of San Antolín de Toques on January 23, 1099.[48] Urraca was regularly associated with the count in these charters.

[46] Flórez, *ES*, 20:19-20.

[47] On January 11, 1096, if this charter can be accepted as reliable; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.784, no. 2. Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia* (Madrid, 1953), no. 170, calls it a forgery. Manuel-Rubén García Alvárez, ed., "Catálogo de documentos reales de la alta Edad Media referentes a Galicia, 714-1109," *Compostellanum* 11 (1966):323, regards it as genuine. March 28, 1098, AHN, Clero, carp. 518, no. 7, is the next charter of Raymond that he confirmed.

[48] No one has systematically examined the charters of Raymond. Because only twenty survive for the period from 1094 to 1107, they represent a difficult diplomatic problem. November 13, 1094; September 24, 1095; May 1, 1096; and August 21, 1096 are cited in note 42. January 11, 1096 is cited in note 47. February 11, 1095, an original; AC Túy, 4/1; also copies in 3/1, 4/4, and Becerro 1; published in Pascual Galindo Romeo, *Túy en la baja*

That the ability to dispose of such resources might promote the coalition of a faction around his son-in-law could hardly have been missed by the king. Although not a young man, Alfonso was still vigorous and retained the overall direction of the defense against the Murābits. The crux of the developing problem was his lack of a son. His second wife, Constance, gave him none and died in the fall of 1093. For his third wife Alfonso turned not to another French bride but to the north of Italy.[49] This is a significant shift from his past policy and probably represents a deliberate attempt to moderate the Burgundian influence, for it is difficult to perceive another reason for such a choice. No contemporary Italian noble of that area was capable of rendering significant military assistance, and the naval assistance so eagerly sought in Italy by his grandson, Alfonso VII, would have been pointless for Alfonso VI in 1094.

We cannot be sure how soon Alfonso initiated this course, but the negotiations were probably under way in the summer of 1094, for the new queen, Bertha, first comes to notice in a document of April 28, 1095.[50] His new queen bore him no children of whom record remains, but the king was still capable of generating children, as the future would show. For the moment, however, no contemporary could have been sure that she would not.

From late 1093 the king may indeed have had a son, albeit an illegitimate one. In 1092 Alfonso had taken as a mistress

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Edad Media (Madrid, 1950), pp. iii-vi. Another, later copy exists in AG Simancas, Sección de Gracia y Justicia, legajo 1.672, varios, Túy, no. 14, fols. 18v-20v.

April 10, 1096; AHN, Clero, carp. 518, no. 6. March 28, 1098; AD Santiago, Fondo de San Martín, ms. 72, a fragment of the original and a notarial copy from the sixteenth century; AHN, Clero, carp. 518, no. 7, is yet another copy but a poor one. January 23, 1099; AHN, Clero, carp. 557, no. 16, an original, and no. 17, a copy.

[49] Benito Sánchez Alonso, ed., *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo* (Madrid, 1924), pp. 86-87. Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," *BRAH* 76 (1920):116.

[50] AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 28v-29r.

the Muslim Zaida, widow of the son of al-Mutamid of Sevilla.[51] Doubtless the arrangement was made with an eye to its political effects in Andalucía, but Zaida did bear him a son. When Sancho Adefónsez, who was to perish at Uclés in 1108, was born is uncertain. From the epitaph of Zaida, long preserved at Sahagún, it appears that she died in childbirth, though not necessarily in bearing Sancho.[52] If indeed it was his birth that is so recorded, the form of the notice gives us the choice of September of either 1093 or 1099 for the event. The date 1093 seems to fit better all the other circumstances.[53] For one thing, a date of 1099 would mean he was on the battlefield at Uclés when not yet nine years of age. If, on the other hand, he was almost fifteen, his presence there is more understandable. For another, the young Sancho begins to confirm his father's documents on January 25, 1103.[54] Taking the earlier date of birth would mean he began this public function in his eighth year rather than at age three. Again, the result is somewhat more convincing.

The king's taking of a mistress, the birth of a son by her, the death of Queen Constance, and Alfonso's choice of a

[51] González, *Repoblación*, 1:90-91.

[52] Elías Gago and Juan Eloy Díaz-Jiménez, "Los restos mortales de Alfonso VI y de sus cuatro mujeres," *BRAH* 58 (1911):51.

[53] Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, pp. 760-764 Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'occident* (Paris, 1948), pp. 139-151.

[54] The charter of Alfonso VI is in the museum of the cathedral of Astorga and is an apparent original. There are copies in AHN, Códices, sig. 1.197B, fols. 230v-232v and sig. 1.195B, fols. 385r-387v; and BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 148. It has been published in Castilian by Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense* (Astorga, 1907), 2:536-538. There are earlier appearances of dubious accuracy—January 17, 1098, AC León, nos. 997, 998, and 999—but the charter lists Pelayo as bishop of Oviedo, whose first appearance is in documents of 1102. May 23, 1099; AHN, Orden militar de Santiago, carp. 326, no. 1; published in José Luis Martín, *Orígenes de la orden militar de Santiago* (Barcelona, 1974), pp. 169-170. But the charter also lists Elizabeth as Alfonso's queen.

Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 398-399, published a document of Alfonso VI confirmed by the young Sancho, dated January 12, 1110, which is impossible. I have tentatively assigned it to January 12, 1102.

new queen remote from French influence—all these events could not have failed to concern Count Raymond even if he had almost simultaneously come to hold the western portion of the realm. They automatically diminished his access to inheritance of the realm and would have slowed the formation of a party around him. I think it likely that one of his reactions to these changing circumstances was the "Pact of Succession" with his cousin, Count Henry. By that agreement, Raymond pledged to his cousin the realm of Toledo and one-third of its "treasure" on the death of Alfonso in return for Henry's aid in securing the kingdom of León-Castilla for himself. If unable to give Henry Toledo, he promised him the realm of Galicia instead. The agreement was negotiated with the aid of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny.[55]

[55] The dating of this pact has been a matter of dispute from its first publication. It is published, with a résumé of the relevant literature, by Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:3-4 and 547-553, who refuses to assign it more closely than 1095-1107. On the other hand, Pierre David, "Le pacte successoral entre Raymond de Galice et Henri de Portugal," *Bulletin hispanique* 50 (1948):275-290, argued for the years 1105-1107 as a reaction to Alfonso's designation of his son, Sancho, as his successor. David also investigated minutely the evidence for the activities in Spain of Abbot Hugh of Cluny's intermediary, Dalmacio Geret, who is mentioned in the document. He concluded that there is no evidence for the latter's presence there before 1106. Azevado rightly questioned this argument from silence. Moreover, David had to account for the absence of any mention of Portugal in the specified arrangements on the basis that the county was held by Henry in a nonfeudal tenure. But this assertion, so dear to Portuguese historians, seems to me the weakest part of the argument. If Henry held Portugal when this highly political agreement was negotiated, it seems incredible that is should not have been mentioned, even if only to exclude it expressly from the other provisions. Nevertheless, David's dating has gained great vogue. It is followed by Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne au* XI^e^ *et* XII^e^ *siècles* (Paris, 1949), pp. 198-199; Cocheril, *Études sur monachisme*, pp. 122-123; and Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 1:38.

Recently Charles Julian Bishko, "Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and the Antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório," *RPH* 13 (1970):155-188, has attempted to date the pact more closely to the summer of 1105. Three problems make this interesting attempt less than convincing. First, Bishko does not adequately appreciate that the mixture of Portuguese and Leonese nobles who confirm Henry's charter of January 30, 1105 can be accounted for on

The beginnings of the career in Iberia of Count Henry, brother of Duke Eudes of Burgundy, cousin of Count Raymond, and eventually husband of Alfonso's daughter Teresa, are difficult to trace. There is some scattered evidence that he may have been the son-in-law of Alfonso and count of Portugal as early as December 18, 1095. None of these documents, however, are without problems.[56] On the other hand, on October 1, 1096 and again on January 19, 1097 he is mentioned as count in Tordesillas, and the latter document is an original.[57] It is conceivable that he was count in Portugal as well, but two holdings, separated by Zamora and Coria in the hands of Count Raymond, seem unlikely. It seems rather that Henry was, at this time and perhaps somewhat earlier, in possession of the border between Raymond's western holdings and the lands of Count Pedro Ansúrez, farther up the Duero at Valladolid. Thus he was an important but modest ally.

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the basis that the count was at the Leonese court when he issued the document, itself drawn up by Alfonso VI's notary. Second, Count Raymond's charter of May 1, 1106, which Bishko uses as evidence of the resolution of the dispute between the cousins, clearly must be dated to 1096 on diplomatic grounds. There are several reasons for assigning it to 1096 but the most compelling is that Diego Gelmírez appears as the count's notary rather than as bishop of Santiago. Third, the royal charter of May 14, 1105, which places the cousins in Burgos to meet with Dalmacius Geret, has been redated from 1107 on the basis of the literary evidence of the HC.

All things considered, it seems more likely that the pact derives from the period before Henry became count in Portugal and subsequent to the death of Queen Constance and the birth of the illegitimate Sancho, both of which latter events would have severely threatened the future of the Burgundians.

[56] Cf. Rui Pinto de Azevado, "Observaçóes de diplomática," *RPH* 12 (1969):147-167, and the same historian's treatment of the charters of Guimarães and of Constantim de Panóias in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:1-6 and 541-546. The confirmation by Henry and Teresa of Count Raymond's charter to Túy of February 11, 1095 is of a later date. For the latter charter, see note 48.

[57] October 1, 1096; AHN, Clero, carp. 889, nos. 3 and 8. Both are private documents of Sahagún.

Even if the substance of such a pact could have been kept secret, Raymond was taking other initiatives that could not be. Before November 13, 1094 he had secured the election and consecration of the Cluniac monk Dalmatius as bishop of Santiago de Compostela. The episcopate of the latter was brief, but before his death after the Council of Clermont, he had secured the exemption of his see from any but Roman authority on December 5, 1095.[58] Alfonso VI was not likely to have opposed either of these actions openly, but that they strengthened his son-in-law more than himself was indisputable. Even as they pursued in concert their common goals—the strength of the realm, the well-being of its church—neither would have been unconscious of the way in which the timing and form of such moves affected his own position, its difficulties, and its opportunities.

It is in such a light that the grant to Henry of Portugal, "a flumine mineo usque in tagum,"[59] made by Alfonso sometime prior to April 9, 1097, should be seen. If it strengthened the west of the realm in the face of the Murābit power, it also confined the progress of Count Raymond. The elevation of Count Henry from a subordinate and ally to a major tenant of the kingdom, connected by marriage to the crown itself, inevitably created strains in his relationship with Count Raymond that benefited the crown.

Developments within the church of the realm during this period may be seen in somewhat the same light. Along the Atlantic, Gerald was promoted to the see of Braga before July 30, 1095. At Coimbra, Bishop Cresconius died on June 29, 1098 and was replaced by Maurice.[60] Both new bishops were French and came out of the cathedral chapter of Toledo. In 1099 Pope Paschal II recognized the ancient claims

[58] November 13, 1094; see note 42. These developments and the text of Urban II's bull are given in Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:19-23.

[59] From a private document of Coimbra, *PMH, Diplomata et Chartae*, pp. 504-515.

[60] Almeida, *História da Ingreja em Portugal*, 1:612-614.

of Braga to archiepiscopal status.[61] All these events created subtle pressures on Count Raymond, enlarged the possibilities of Count Henry, and further explain the choice of a native and Raymond's notary, Diego Gelmírez, for the see of Santiago in 1100. At the same time, the new Bishop Alfonso of Túy on the now-sensitive southern border of Galicia was a canon of the Santiago chapter.[62]

These events also illustrate the complexity of the political possibilities of the realm. One must not speak facilely of a French or Cluniac party. Certainly the common backgrounds and associations with Cluny of Bernard of Toledo, Henry of Portugal, and Raymond of Burgundy, together with their undoubted status as foreigners in their new surroundings, provided a continual possibility of their pursuing common aims. But each of them also now enjoyed positions that could make them rivals as they strove to build upon day-to-day opportunities. Thus, Count Raymond could place himself at the head of Galician provincialism and also promote the ambitions of the see of Compostela and the cult of Santiago. Count Henry could make use of the particularism of Portugal and the ambitions of the see of Braga to recreate its ancient metropolitian status. Archbishop Bernard was the enthusiastic promoter of the metropolitan rights of Toledo and of the ecclesiastical ambitions of the young protégés of his chapter whom he had personally recruited in France. Severally, they had the ability as well to appeal to the international power and influence of Cluny and of the papacy, the latter under the guidance of the former Cluniacs Urban II (1088-1099) and Paschal II (1099-1118).

All such initiatives, however, if pursued too flagrantly or

[61] Mansilla, "Formación," p. 9. The papal bull has not been preserved, but that of Calixtus II to Archbishop Pelayo of Braga in June 1121 quotes it. Carl Erdmann, "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft en zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pt. 3, pp. 174-177.

[62] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:56-57.

too singlemindedly endangered the other interest of each, which would be realized best through good relations with the crown. For both Raymond and Henry accession to the crown itself, in virtue of their royal wives or on behalf of their children, was a real possibility. For Archbishop Bernard, only through the patronage of the crown could he realize the primatial claims of his see, which were as peninsular in character as the imperial title that Alfonso VI had adopted. The possibilities of cooperation with, and manipulation of, the royal power seem ultimately to have proved much the stronger.

Of none of this could Alfonso VI have been unaware. The interests of the crown were best served by establishing Henry as count of Portugal to offset Raymond as count of Galicia, and two sons-in-law were safer than one. On the whole, Bernard of Toledo was allowed to pursue his ambitions to the extent that they also served the purposes of the crown. As at Braga in 1095 and Coimbra in 1098, so in 1102 at Osma the new bishop came from the Toledo chapter.[63] Both in the county of Portugal and on the upper reaches of the Duero, bishops tied to the primate could be utilized also to serve the purposes of the crown.

In the heart of the realm, however, no such appointments were made. At Burgos, Bishop Gomez died on February 5, 1097 and was followed by Bishop García Aznárez of Navarra.[64] The following year Bishop Pelayo succeeded Bishop Osmundus at Astorga.[65] And about 1100, Bishop Martín at

[63] The first document known to me in which a bishop of Osma appears is that of the monastery of Sahagún dated June 2, 1102; AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fol. 88r. For the French recruited by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo and placed in the various Iberian sees, refer to Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, 2:544.

[64] Serrano, *Obispado*, 1:358.

[65] Bishop Pelayo is first mentioned in the Tumbo of Astorga on April 18, 1097; Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio*, 2:174. There is, however, considerable evidence for the survival of his predecessor into the spring of 1098.

Oviedo was followed by another Bishop Pelayo.[66] None of Archbishop Bernard's protégés found sees there. In roughly the same period Burgos was allowed in 1096 to secure from Rome exemption from any metropolitan authority.[67]

The greatest positions of the royal court were also kept in native hands. Alfonso's majordomos were Fernando Muñoz from 1096 to about 1101 and Pelayo Rodríguez from about 1102 to 1107. Both seem to have been of the Leonese nobility. His alférez was Gomez González until 1099, followed by García Alvárez until 1107. Both were from the nobility of Castilla.

This careful balancing of the power and interests of the great ones of the realm became increasingly difficult for the king during the last decade of his reign. In the late fall or early winter of 1099, his Italian wife, Bertha, died and left the king still without a legitimate male heir.[68] During the preceding summer the death of the Cid in Valencia proved to be an irreparable loss. The hero's widow, Jimena, held out for a time but by May 1102 Valencia had to be abandoned to the Murābits. Alfonso had hastened to the defense of the city that spring and the enemy withdrew for the moment, but the king was doubtless correct in his estimate that

[66] His predecessor last appears as a confirmant of a document of the Council of Palencia on December 5, 1100; AHN, Microfilmas, AC Palencia, rollo 1.658, no. 11; Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-17, fols. 217r-219v, 240r-254r; published in Fernando del Pulgar, *Historia secular y eclesiástica*, 1:131-132, and in Fidel Fita, "El concilio nacional de Palencia," *BRAH* 24 (1894):221-222. But Pelayo appears in some documents as early as 1098 and the historians have solved the problem by making him an auxiliary bishop of his predecessor. I think such an explanation unlikely but it reflects the state of the study of the documents in this period.

[67] Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:96-98.

[68] The last notice of her is dated November 17, 1099, and by January 25, 1100 Alfonso refers to her death in a donation to Sahagún. November 17, 1099; AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fol. 78v, published in Fidel Fita, "Concilio nacional de Burgos en 1080: Nuevas ilustraciones," *BRAH* 49 (1906):361-363. January 25, 1100, AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 10v-11r; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 499-501, with a date of February 1, 1100, and in Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 5:83-86.

to protect it indefinitely was impossible. Without the essentially independent troop of Rodrigo Díaz he could no more have retained Valencia than he could, at the same time, have held Toledo without Alvar Fáñez or Coimbra without Count Henry. The withdrawal is an indication of the extent of the king's reliance on his great magnates of the frontier. The loss of Valencia, however, threatened anew the entire eastern flank of the realm. Not only Valencia but Zaragoza, the last of the important taifas, might be expected to succumb to the Murābits. The loyalty of the nobles of the east now became doubly important to the crown.

The attention of Alfonso to the east is apparent. A bishop was found for the long-projected but apparently long-neglected diocese of Osma in 1102, an outpost on the upper Duero. In 1104, seventy-five kilometers southeast of Osma, Alfonso took Medinaceli.[69] That fortress town had long controlled the route from Zaragoza down through Toledo to Córdoba and Sevilla by the river valleys of the Jalón and the Tajo.

Under these circumstances the Leonese monarch's choice for his fourth wife fell again on a French princess, Elizabeth or Isabel. She is purported to have been a daughter of Louis VI of France, and her first appearance in the documents is on May 14, 1100.[70] Once again Alfonso appears to have been bidding for help from beyond the Pyrenees. Whether the new queen had ties to Count Raymond or Count Henry is not known, but both of these magnates seem to have been extending their sphere of influence eastward at this time, perhaps at the expense of Count Pedro Ansúrez.

On September 16, 1100 the name of Count Henry is associated with the Christian army defeated at Malagón to the

[69] González, *Repoblación*, 1:95-96.

[70] Cocheril, *Études sur monachisme*, p. 118 and n. 171, and Juan Loperráez Corvalón, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1788), 3:9-10. There is a prior mention in a document of May 23, 1099, but there are other problems with that source.

south of Toledo.[71] To the northwest, on the best route from Zamora over the Guadarramas to Toledo, Count Raymond was almost certainly busy by this time with the repopulation of Salamanca and Ávila. Both are associated with his name although the initiation of this process cannot be dated with precision. In June of 1102 Raymond made two donations to Bishop Jerome of Salamanca,[72] another of the French clerics brought to Spain by Archbishop Bernard. He had been bishop of Valencia briefly under the Cid. These two documents represent his first appearance at Salamanca and the first datable evidence of the count's authority there. Ávila is even more of an unknown; no bishop of that town is recorded in the documents before 1121. But again, military support of and competition with his cousin would have made Raymond's operation in both places necessary by 1100.

For the winter of 1101-1102 there is also strong evidence that Count Raymond had become for the first time a regular member of the royal court. Between November 5, 1101 and June 2, 1102 he confirmed no less than six private donations to the monastery of Sahagún. The six are spread evenly over the period and indicate that he wintered at the court. Sahagún was far more than a monastery; it was the pantheon of the royal family and its favorite residence. A variety of donations attest the dynasty's extensive holdings in the area. At least through Urraca, and probably as part of her dowry, Raymond also held considerable property in the environs.[73] But there is no convincing evidence for the couple's earlier, continuing residence there.

The record suggests as well that the count not only had taken up residence at or near the court but also had come to

[71] González, *Repoblación*, 1:94.

[72] June 22, 1102; AC Salamanca, cajón 16, legajo 1, no. 5, an original. There is also a copy from the thirteenth century, in AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fol. 22.

[73] As early as May 1, 1096 they had donated some of it to the monastery. See note 42. A study of the fisc lands of the dynasty remains to be done. It awaits, like most other things, a critical study of the crown charters.

hold a commanding position in its vicinity. Five kilometers south of the monastery of Sahagún the castle of Grajal commands the approach from Palencia. From it, the journey to Sahagún is an easy one. Its command in friendly hands would have been a prime necessity for the court, resident in or near the monastery. Two separate documents of the monastery note that the stronghold was in Raymond's possession in the winter of 1102.[74] It is likely that it became his major residence from this point, and it was there that he was to die a little more than five years later.

Other indications of the new importance of the count are not hard to find for this period. For the year 1103 some nine donations of Alfonso VI survive. Of these, the list of confirmants has been preserved for seven. Raymond confirms all seven. Although the record is not nearly so full for any other year after 1100, the surviving documents suggest that his position at court continued strong until his death. Count Raymond does not confirm the single extant royal charter for 1104, but he does confirm three of the four known for 1105, the single charter preserved for 1106, and the two surviving charters issued before his death in 1107.

Indeed, it seems that the position of the count in the kingdom was a commanding one during these five years and made possible the elimination of an outstanding rival magnate, Pedro Ansúrez. Between November 7, 1103 and March 27, 1109 the Leonese magnate disappears from the documents of the realm. From 1072 to 1103 Count Pedro is mentioned in at least 116 documents, more often than any other person but

[74] February 15, 1102; AHN, Clero, carp. 890, no. 18, an original; and AHN; Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 56v-57r. March 6, 1102; AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fol. 172v; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 502. There is another document of Sahagún that mentions Raymond as "comite in graliare," dated to January 25, 1098; AHN, Clero, carp. 889, no. 16. This is a copy, however, and I am skeptical of this isolated notice. The present castle at Grajal is a later structure whose entire interior is earth-filled almost to the level of the battlements. Its excavation might be rewarding. The character of the notices in the documents indicates that the present structure was preceded by an earlier fortification on the site.

the king himself. From 1109 until his death in 1117, the count appeared in another 54 documents; no other noble, not even Count Pedro González of Lara, who was later Queen Urraca's lover and chief support in Castilla, is so frequently mentioned. During these years Pedro Ansúrez was, I believe, a political exile from the realm, residing in the small Pyrennean county of Urgel.[75]

Count Armengol V of Urgel, who had been married to Pedro's daughter María from about 1099, died in 1102. For the next six years Pedro Ansúrez effectively ruled the county for his grandson, the future Armengol VI, who played a large part in the reign of Alfonso VII. It is possible, of course, to explain Count Pedro's absence from León-Castilla in terms

[75] An indication that the count's sojourn among the valleys of the Pyrennees might not have been purely voluntary is to be found in the thirteenth-century "De Rebus Hispaniae" of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Rodrigo claims that after the death of her father, Urraca seized the lands of Pedro Ansúrez and that her new husband, Alfonso I of Aragón, restored those lands to the count and imprisoned his wife, *Opera*, ed. María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt (Valencia, 1968), 1:147-148. The source for this story is probably literary.

The documentary record will not support the story in the form that we have it. From 1109 until his death in 1117 Pedro Ansúrez is constantly in the documents as count. He is frequently given as count in Saldaña or Carrión or Cabezón. He confirms no less than twenty-nine diplomas of Urraca herself during this period. Either Rodrigo is simply mistaken, or the incident is of the briefest duration, or the chronicler has garbled a reference to an event of the late reign of Alfonso VI in which the influence of Urraca and her husband played a principal part.

Other documents support rather the interpretation I have placed on his absence. On November 7, 1103 Count Pedro donated the church of Valladolid, which he had founded, and all its possessions to Bishop Raymond of Palencia; AC Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, fols. 21r-22r; also Acad. Hist., Catedrales de España, 9-25-1-C-4, fols. 12r-14r. Such a divestiture was extraordinary and not likely to be voluntary. Counts Raymond and Henry confirmed it. On March 14, 1104 Pedro Sarracínez made a donation to Sahagún of property that he had been awarded by Pedro Ansúrez, acting as royal judge two years earlier, in a suit against that monastery; AHN, Clero, carp. 891, no. 11, and Códices, 989B, fol. 57. Gonzalo, the brother of the Leonese count, also disappears from the documents in 1103, to reappear only in 1110; but the record is much less full in his case.

of family obligation; but the contrast with his chosen sphere of action before and after is striking, and Urgel offered only the most diminutive scope for his talents and ambitions.

Such a coup against an old, established member of the court and royal confidant must have had the acquiescence of the king himself. In addition, it probably required the active cooperation of Raymond's cousin, Count Henry of Portugal. There is evidence that the latter had also become a regular member of the royal court from early 1103. In that year Henry confirmed four of the seven known Alfonsine charters whose witness lists survive. His confirmations of private documents of the monastery of Sahagún indicate his ordinary presence there at least from January until spring for the years 1104 through 1107.

Although the two Burgundian counts and their royal wives may have gained the paramount interest at court, it should not be concluded that they had thereby become masters of the realm. Their influence continued to be based on their control of the west and seems not to have extended beyond it in many respects. Of the eleven charters of Count Raymond between 1102 and 1107 of which notice survives, only two concern areas other than Galicia. One, as we have seen, is a settlement of a dispute with the monks of Sahagún, in whose district he held considerable land. The other is an exchange of properties with the bishopric of Oviedo.[76] The remaining nine charters are all concerned with Galicia.[77]

[76] February 14, 1103; AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 122v-123r. October 1103, a notice only, which Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), p. 331, regards as suspect.

[77] October 6, 1102; AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo, fol. 16. October 25, 1104; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 3, to the Gallegan monastery of Samos; it is probably an original. January 16, 1105, a notice in Prudencio de Sandoval, *Antigüedad de la ciudad y iglesia catedral de Túy* (Braga, 1610), fol. 109. This work was reprinted in Barcelona, 1974. Another notice with some confirmants is given in the same author's *Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de León* (Pamplona, 1634), fol. 95r. December 16, 1105: AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 29r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:61-63 app. A copy is in AC Santiago, legajo 90, fols. 6v-8r. April 9, 1106; AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo,

Moreover, from the witness lists of the charters that are more than mere notices it is obvious that the confirmants are nobles of merely regional importance from Galicia. The exception to this case is the charter granted to the church of Santiago on December 16, 1105, which is confirmed by six of the great prelates of the realm and many members of the court. But this should be credited to both the prestige of Santiago and its having been granted at the Christmas court in Sahagún rather than to the importance of Count Raymond.

Much the same can be said of the six known charters of his cousin, Count Henry of Portugal, datable to this period. There is a donation to the Cluniac priory of Charité-sur-Loire, another to the Cluniac priory of San Isidro de las Dueñas, and finally, a donation to Sahagún. The remaining three are all donations of property in Portugal to Portuguese individuals or Portuguese churches.[78] With the understandable exception of the grants to San Isidro and to Sahagún,

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fol. 17v. April 9, 1106; AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo, fol. 16r; published in Antolín López Peláez, *El señorio temporal de los obispos de Lugo*, 2 vols. (Corunna, 1897), 2:119-121. May 25, 1106, AC Túy, legajo 5, no. 1, an original, and a copy in the Primero Libro Becerro, fol. 41, published in part by María del Carmen Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela Silva, *El bajo valle del Miño en los siglos* XII *y* XIII (Santiago de Compostela, 1971), p. 119. March 17, 1107; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 29; published in Estefanía, "Memorias," p. 235, and López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:69-70 app. September 13, 1107; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 30r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:73-74 app.

[78] All save one have been published in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:10-15. March 1100, to Charité-sur-Loire; March 21, 1101, to Sahagún; June 8, 1101, to the church of Braga; August 1, 1106, to two individual priests; and August 25, 1106, to the monastery of Lorváo. January 30, 1105; this donation was brought to light and published with extensive commentary by Bishko, "Count Henrique," pp. 158-160, who saw in it evidence of an attempt by Count Henry to bid for the support of Cluny for his designs on the Leonese throne, an initiative that eventuated in the Pact of Succession. Although it cannot be doubted that the cousins necessarily remained rivals in some sense, the record during this period seems to speak rather to their collaboration. See also my remarks in note 55.

the confirmants to these charters are individuals with regional Portuguese interests.

Even at court not everything developed as the cousins and their royal wives would have it. From January of 1103 Zaida's son, Sancho, confirmed almost every one of his father's charters. In April 23, 1107 a private document of the monastery of Oña said that Sancho was ruling in Medinaceli, reconquered by his father in 1104.[79] Whatever might have been their private reservations about this development, neither man could have done anything except publicly to support it. In addition, their own claims continued to be threatened by the surprising virility of Alfonso VI. The old king and his new French queen had, by March 19, 1106, produced two surviving children.[80] Both were girls, the Infantas Sancha and Elvira, but might not Alfonso yet produce another male heir?

In the kingdom at large it is difficult to get a sense of very rapid or vigorous change. The departure of Pedro Ansúrez seems to have benefited Alfonso rather than Count Raymond. A longtime servant of the crown, Muño Díaz, is given as "presiding" in the Leonese count's lands at Saldaña.[81] Elsewhere no significant changes can be detected in

[79] "Regnante rege adefonso in toleto et in leione et in omni regno yspanio. Santius filius eius in Medina"; AHN, Clero, carp. 272, no. 9, an original; published in Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:163-164.

[80] AC Oviedo, Serie A, carp. 2, no. 10, an original; and Serie B, carp. 1, nos. 19 and 20, copies; and the Liber Testamentorum, fols. 78v-79r, another copy, published in García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, p. 337. There is an earlier donation, also to Oviedo, which the two infantas confirm, but there are problems with its date. Dated March 16, 1103, it is given in Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 3:49-50. Ciriaco Miguel Vígil, *Asturias monumental, epigráfica, y diplomática*, 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1887), 1:84-85, also cites it from a document in the cathedral but gives the date as March 19, 1103.

[81] June 27, 1104; AHN, Clero, carp. 891, no. 16; a private donation to Sahagún. March 29, 1107; AHN, Clero, carp. 892, no. 14; another private document of Sahagún.

those who served the crown. It is perhaps ominous that Alvar Fáñez, the defender of the Toledan frontier, came no more to court in these years. That frontier appears to have been generally quiet. In those offensives large enough to find a chronicler, the initiative seems to have rested with the Christians, as in 1105 and 1106. Control of events there remained local.[82]

The most portentous developments were in the east. Immediately after the murder of Sancho García IV of Navarra in July of 1076, Alfonso VI had extended his control into the valley of the upper Ebro. The remainder of that kingdom, around Pamplona, had been appropriated at the same time by Aragón. The great taifa kingdom of Zaragoza held the middle Ebro, and in 1086 Alfonso VI had been only just balked of obtaining it by the appearance of the Murābits in the peninsula.

Unable for the time to secure that prize for León-Castilla, the king nevertheless opposed Aragonese moves to gain it. He allied himself with al-Mustain of Zaragoza in 1096 in a vain attempt to prevent Pedro I of Aragón from capturing Huesca. In 1101 Pedro I had followed up his seizure of Huesca with the capture of Barbastro. When Pedro died suddenly on September 28, 1104, he left to his heir and brother, Alfonso I *el Batallador*, an Aragón in a strong position to overrun the middle Ebro. In 1106 and 1107 the latter took Ejea and Tauste, thrusting a salient down to the Ebro between Zaragoza and its fortress town of Tudela. A bit later he also took Tamarite, south of Barbastro toward the town of Lérida.

The success at Tamarite carried the king of Aragón to within thirty-five kilometers of Balaguer, northeast of Lérida on the Río Segre. That fortress had been taken in the fall of 1105 by Count Pedro Ansúrez with the assistance of Count Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona. The already established marital connections between the houses of Aragón and Urgel, the desirability of military cooperation against Zaragoza,

[82] González, *Repoblación*, 1:96-97.

and the hope of Pedro Ansúrez to be restored to his position in León-Castilla dictated an alliance whose effects would be far-reaching for the latter kingdom.[83]

Given the disparity in the size and resources of the two realms, however, León-Castilla must have been badly divided for Aragón's intervention to be significant. The events of 1107 and 1108 created such conditions.

Alfonso VI continued almost until his death at age seventy-two to rule with tenacity and vigor.[84] In early May or late April of 1107 he held an important council of the realm at León. The "Historia Compostelana" mentions it while describing the progress of a dispute between the churches of Compostela and Mondoñedo.[85] Two documents almost immediately after the council imply the kind of secular decisions made there.

On May 8, 1107, at the castle of Monzón on the road to Burgos, Alfonso VI granted a charter to the church of Toledo in the presence of Queen Isabel, his son, Sancho, Count Raymond and Urraca, County Henry and Teresa, Archbishop Gerald of Braga, the bishops of León, Astorga, and Salamanca, and a host of nobles. The diploma states that it was "roborato vero in castro de monzon coram omni sue expedicionis multitudine dum attenderet ad aragon post celebratum concilium apud legione."[86] Not quite a week later in Burgos, on May 14, 1107, Alfonso granted a charter to the church of Santiago de Compostela, again in the presence of his queen, his son, the Burgundian counts and their wives, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, the bishops of León, Astorga, Palencia, and Burgos, and many of the same notables.

[83] Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, pp. 70-73 and n. 93.

[84] The exact date of his birth is unknown. "Las Crónicas anónimas," ed. Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):120, says that he died at seventy-two and it was written by a contemporary. Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, 2:735, allows him only sixty-nine years.

[85] Flórez, *ES*, 20:78-79.

[86] AC Toledo, I.12.A.1.1, a copy from the twelfth century. Also AHN, Códices, sig. 986B, fols. 51v-52r, and BN, Manuscritos, 13.093, fols. 37r-38v.

The dating formula states that it was granted "quando rex de burgis egressus cum sola castellanorum expeditione super vascones et aragonenses iter direxit."[87]

From this evidence one may deduce that the council at León was called to organize an expedition against Aragón in the spring of 1107. Perhaps, as in 1096, the Aragonese pressure on the middle Ebro was too successful for Alfonso to permit. There is no further record of this episode and it remains mysterious. The confirmations to a private document of Sahagún place most of the principals back there by June 12, 1107.[88]

Alfonso's charter to Santiago also indicates another action taken at the Council of León. In one of the extant copies, Alfonso's son by Zaida confirms "Sancius puer filius regis regnum electus patrifactum conf." It is unfortunate that the documents involved are copies. The charter for Toledo a few days earlier has him confirm as "Sancius infans regius filius quod pater fecit cf." One of the copies of the Santiago document merely lists him as "Sancius filius regis cf." Still, it is difficult to imagine that the later copyist of this last document simply added those extraordinary words out of whimsy. Sancho was formally recognized as heir to the kingdom at the council.

All the planning of Alfonso was nevertheless set at naught by a series of events whose combined effect was to threaten

[87] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 27v, and Tumbo C, fol. 219. The second of these copies contains a more faithful text of the confirmations. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas* (Mexico City, 1965), p. 480, would redate this diploma to 1105, based on the relation of some of the circumstances of its granting contained in the HC. A full reading of the latter text, Flórez, *ES*, 20:63-69, illustrates the shakiness of the author's chronology of this period. On the method of composition of the authors and the other conditions of the work's production, see Bernard F. Reilly, "The 'Historia Compostelana': The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish 'Gesta,' " *Speculum* 44 (1969):78-85.

[88] AHN, Códices, sig. 989B, fols. 73v-73(bis)r. Such documents were not infrequently prepared at court, however, so that it is impossible to be absolutely sure. The total known documentation for 1107 is not very full.

the realm with chaos on his death only two years later. The first of these was, taken by itself, hopeful. Between September 13 and 20, 1107 his overmighty son-in-law, Count Raymond, died on his lands at Grajal in the presence of Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela, who returned with his body to the city and shrine of the apostle for the funeral rites.[89] On December 13, 1107 his widow, the Infanta Urraca, issued a charter in her own name.[90]

The death of the great Burgundian who had played so large a part in the affairs of the kingdom for almost a generation was shortly followed by another unsettling event. Alfonso VI's fourth queen died, probably early in 1108. The king would marry yet one last time in 1108. Again his bride, Beatrice, was French, and she survived the king, returning to her native country after his death. The *Primera crónica general* states that Alfonso had neither son nor daughter by her.[91]

[89] The HC, ed. Flórez, *ES*, 20:63-65, associates his mortal illness with the donation of the monastery of San Mamed to Santiago. That donation is dated September 13, 1107; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 30r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:73-74 app. Under the date of September 20, 1107 there is a notice of him in the necrology of a Burgundian monastery. Georges Chevrier and Maurice Chaume, eds., *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1943), 2:198. There is a subsequent mention of him dated November 17, 1107; AHN, Clero, carp. 892, no. 20; this was accepted by Fidel Fita, "Concilios nacionales de Carrión en 1103 y León en 1107," *BRAH* 24 (1894):338-340. This is a copy of a private donation to Sahagún that I regard as suspect on diplomatic grounds.

[90] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 30r.; published in Estefanía, "Memorias," pp. 239-240, and in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:76 app.

[91] Menéndez Pidal, ed., 2:521. The documentary record is almost nonexistent for these two events. On December 30, 1107 in the presence of a great concourse of prelates, Alfonso VI made a donation to the church of Salamanca; AE Salamanca, no. 1, a contemporary copy, and AC Salamanca, cajón 16, legajo 1, no. 30, two copies of the eighteenth century; published in Bernardo Dorado, *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1776), p. 70. The donation contains the last known notice of Queen Isabel. A private donation to the church of Astorga dated only to the year 1108, BN, Manuscritos, 9.194, fol. 103, contains the only documentary notice of Queen Beatrice. Cocheril, *Études sur monachisme*, pp. 118-119, believes that Beatrice was instead of the family of the Este.

Finally, on May 30, 1108 Alfonso's heir perished at the hands of the Murābits at the battle of Uclés. The *Infans* Sancho had led the defense because, as the "Historia Compostelana" puts it, "Sancio scilicet . . . cujus custodiae secundum patris imperium Toleti dominium erat commissum."[92] With him perished a considerable number of magnates and any hope for a peaceful succession to the realm of León-Castilla.[93]

[92] Flórez, *ES*, 20:67.

[93] "Et septem de magnatibus cum multis aliis ibidem occisis, occisionis locum vocaverunt Arabes Septem porcos, quem postea locum Petrus de Franco Commendator Uclensis, mutato nomine, Septem Comites appellavit"; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, "De Rebus Hispaniae," p. 145.

TWO

THE CRISIS OF THE DYNASTY AND THE ARAGONESE MARRIAGE

IN THE latter part of September 1107, Urraca succeeded her deceased husband; that is, she became the ruler, under the crown, of not only Galicia but also the Zamora district and a territory stretching south and east as far as Coria, Salamanca, and Ávila. In geographic area, it was a kingdom by Iberian standards. What had been her preparation for its rule, and for the rule of the entire kingdom that events would settle upon her in less than two years?

Urraca was a widow about twenty-seven years old and a mother of two children. She was no impressionable or romantic girl but a mature woman, approaching middle age by modern reckoning but more likely having achieved it on any twelfth-century scale. Her first child, the Infanta Sancha, had been born before 1095.[1] Her second, the Infans Alfonso and the future Alfonso VII, was hardly out of swaddling clothes. He was born on March 1, 1105.[2] Given the value that the age placed upon a male heir, the likelihood is that something like seven other conceptions may have occurred, ending in miscarriages, stillbirths, or deaths in infancy. Urraca would

[1] Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 20, citing a document of the infanta Elvira, sister of Alfonso VI, November 11, 1095; Archivo de San Isidoro de León, Reales, no. 132.

[2] The "Anales toledanos I" gives his date of birth as March 1, 1106; Ambrosio Huici y Miranda, ed., *Las crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1913), 1:344. Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las reynas cathólicas de España* (Madrid, 1761), 1:234-235, corrected that date to 1105. The latter is followed by Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), p. 5, n. 2.

have had few illusions about men and what they required of their wives.

As to her experience of statecraft, we cannot judge. It appears to have been of the ordinary, wifely sort where it is visible at all. She was associated with Count Raymond in the issuance of his diplomas and confirmed them. There is only one surviving charter for the period before 1107 in which Urraca herself makes the grant.[3] The "Historia Compostelana" has preserved a picture of one occasion on which Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago successfully employed a mixture of blandishment and invective to secure Urraca's intercession with Count Raymond on his behalf.[4] But such accounts were likely to be almost as dominated by stylistic and literary convention as were the formulas of documents. Before her husband's death, the infanta was probably quite familiar with the politics of influence of both the court and the extended royal family. Of the politics of legal right and legitimate authority she was largely a spectator until the fall of 1107.

She never returned to or sought the secondary role of spectator again. The twelfth-century "Chronicon Compostellanum" tells us that Urraca died in adulterous childbirth in March of 1126 some nineteen years later.[5] She would have been about forty-six at that point. In the thirteenth century Jiménez de Rada relates that the queen had as lovers both Count Gómez of Candespina and Count Pedro González of Lara. She is said to have borne the former a son.[6] But no chronicler portrays Urraca as a weak woman dominated by her powerful lovers. Jiménez de Rada says that the two counts "desired" to marry her, not that they achieved it.[7]

The historians contemporary with her reign do not mention such things at all. "Las crónicas anónimas de Saha-

[3] October 24, 1102: BN, Sección de Manuscritos, sig. 18.387, fol. 303.

[4] Enrique Flórez, ed., *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:62.

[5] Ibid., p. 611: "in partu adulterini filii vitam infelicem finivit."

[6] "De Rebus Hispaniae," *Opera*, ed. María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt (Valencia, 1968), 1:148.

[7] Ibid., pp. 148-149.

gún" mentions only the disastrous marriage to Alfonso I of Aragón.[8] When the source speaks of the queen it describes her as moved with pity at the danger to one of her subjects or, again, as taking counsel with her nobles on the question of her divorce from the Batallador.[9] On other occasions of great difficulty Urraca, in speeches attributed to her, refers to herself as a lone, poor, weak woman or as deserted in the house of her father.[10] But it is impossible to tell from the account whether the queen is merely describing the facts or artfully appealing to the sympathies of her listeners.

In the somewhat fuller account of the "Historia Compostelana," again the contemporary author ignores her liaisons. He is often unhappy with the queen's actions, which run contrary to the purposes of his hero, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela. He accounts for her failings in terms of the weakness and changeability of women, of feminine perversity, and calls her a Jezebel.[11] On other occasions he praises her prudence, modesty, and good sense.[12] It is clear that this author is not a dispassionate observer. Nevertheless, he never presents the queen as merely manipulated by others. There is no question that the queen is in control, perhaps all too much in control, of events.

It seems quite clear that Urraca did have lovers. Flórez credits the paternity of both her son Fernando and a daughter, Elvira, to Pedro González of Lara.[13] She may have been hardy enough to conceive and then have died in childbirth at forty-six. Assuredly she used her sex for enjoyment but, more important, she also used it as a weapon. One should understand her liaisons primarily as political strategems that secured allies without providing her with masters. The mar-

[8] Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., *BRAH* 76 (1920):122: "aquel maldito e escomulgado ayuntamiento."

[9] Ibid., p. 243.

[10] Ibid., pp. 248 and 348.

[11] Flórez, *ES*, 20:204, 324, and 333.

[12] Ibid., pp. 127 and 233.

[13] *Reynas cathólicas*, 1:342-347.

riage with Alfonso I of Aragón failed, in part at least, because the Batallador could not be other than master.

But all these relationships lay in the future when, in September of 1107, the body of Count Raymond was borne from Grajal for the journey to Galicia and interment in the new Romanesque cathedral rising over the shrine of Santiago. With Bishop Diego Gelmírez, Urraca probably accompanied the corpse of her husband.[14] Although the documents are too few to be absolutely positive, she probably remained in Galicia. Seeing to the transition of that crucial area to her own control would have been her first concern, and it is there, on December 13, 1107, that she issues her first diploma as "totius gallecie domina."[15]

The grant was made to the church of Santiago in the presence of all of the bishops of Galicia: Diego of Orense, Pedro of Lugo, Alfonso of Túy and Gonzalvo of Mondoñedo. The abbots of the great monasteries of Antealtares and Celanova, Count Pedro Froilaz of Traba, Count Suero Vermúdez, and most of the other magnates usually associated with the late count also confirm. The occasion of the document seems to be a general curia of the realm of Galicia whose chief business would have been assent to the terms of a settlement proposed for it by Alfonso VI.

That settlement was realized at a council or curia held at León at the end of December. We know of it because on December 30, 1107 Alfonso VI confirmed the earlier donations of Count Raymond to the church of Salamanca.[16] Also

[14] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:64-65.

[15] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 30r; published in Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:76 app. and Santiago Estefanía, "Memorias para la vida de el Rey Don Alfonso primero de Castilla y sexto de León " (Acad. Hist. Madrid, 1826), pp. 239-240.

[16] See ch. 1, note 91. Fidel Fita, "Concilios nacionales de Carrión en 1103 y León en 1107," *BRAH* 24 (1894):299-342, who first described the business of this council, was disputed by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "¿Donde vas, Alfonso VI?," *Príncipe de Viana* 104-105 (1966):315-319, later republished in *Miscelánea de estudios históricos* (León, 1970), 3:459-464, who ar-

confirming are Bishops Gelmírez of Santiago, Pedro of Lugo, and Maurice of Braga. Urraca does not confirm nor does Count Henry of Portugal, but they were certainly at the council. Its decisions required their adherence for permanence.

What was decided was that Urraca should retain control of Galicia herself so long as she did not remarry. If she did remarry, Galicia would pass to her son, the young Alfonso Raimúndez. To these terms, the "Historia Compostelana" indicates, the barons of Galicia were required to swear in the presence of Count Raymond's brother, the Archbishop Guido of Vienne, and of Bishop Gelmírez. This account places the event at León after Count Raymond's death and before the young Alfonso had attained three years of age, all of which indicates late December. If the author is less than clear about the precise position of Urraca, that is typical of his preferences.[17] This concession of Alfonso was no doubt accompanied by the reassertion of direct royal control over the remainder of the lands held by Raymond in the west outside of Galicia. The charter confirming the possessions of Salamanca is an indication of the more general reassertion of that direct control.

In this settlement Count Henry of Portugal is likely to have acquiesced gracefully. The death of his cousin left him in a commanding position in the west of the realm. He could not reasonably have hoped to secure control of Galicia himself in view of the claims of Raymond's wife and son. That being so, the interests of Henry and his sovereign coincided for the moment in that they both preferred that the late count should have no very potent heir. The Portuguese count's major concern would continue to be the young successor lately designated for the entire realm, Sancho Adefónsez, and those who would support the latter.

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gued that the council was held in the spring. Actually, there were two councils, as we have seen. The term *council* is not as rigidly and legalistically defined in the twelfth century as it is later.

[17] Flórez, *ES*, 20:95-96.

As for Alfonso VI, he may have required the support of Count Henry for the policy that had forced Count Pedro Ansúrez into exile and left to the crown the enjoyment of that magnate's possessions. The documents indicate the presence of Count Henry at court in the winter of 1108. He confirmed two private documents of Sahagún there on February 16 and March 31, 1108.[18] The aged king would also have reinforced the loyalty of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo by allowing him to place one of his canons in the bishopric of Palencia. Old Bishop Raymond had died there on January 12, 1108, and the new bishop, Pedro of Agen, confirmed a private document of Sahagún at the beginning of March.[19] Meanwhile, in Galicia, Urraca was patronizing the see of Lugo on January 21, 1108 and styling herself "tocius Gallecie imperatrix."[20]

All such leisurely and subtle political maneuvering, however, was soon to yield to a new, great crisis. The Murābit leader, Ali ben Yusuf, had visited Andalucía in the summer of 1107. The fruits of that journey became manifest in the spring of 1108 when the governor of Granada, Tamin ben Yusuf, launched the forces of the south against the fortress of Uclés to the east of Toledo. The relief force dispatched by Alfonso VI was defeated on May 30, 1108, and the infans himself and his tutor, Count García Ordóñez, perished along

[18] February 16, 1108; AHN, Sección de Códices, 989B, fol. 165v. March 31, 1108; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 892, no. 17, probably an original; and no. 18, also Códices, 989B, fol. 219. The charter of Count Henry dated March 31, 1108 was probably issued at court; see Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:17-18. Its confirmants are a mixture of Portuguese and court figures.

[19] AHN, Códices, 989B, fols. 115v-116r. For the epitaph of Bishop Raymond see Alonso Fernández de Madrid, *Silva palentina*, 3 vols. (Palencia, 1932-42), 1:147, n. 1. For Bishop Pedro, see Ramon Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera crónica general* (Madrid, 1955), 2:544.

[20] AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo, fols. 16r-17r. The document is dated to January 21, 1107, but the donation is made "pro anima viri mei gloriosissimi ducis domni Ramundi."

with numerous other magnates.[21] With the death of young Sancho, Urraca immediately became the center of political attention.

Alfonso VI himself moved south to see to the security of Toledo, but the attack was not to come there yet. The documentary record is almost nonexistent for this period and we must rely solely on the "Historia Compostelana." This tells us that when Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago learned of the death of young Sancho he hastened south at the head of a strong force, accompanied by Urraca. After restoring the military balance in the Toledan lands, that prelate then fell ill and, upon recovering, joined the king in Segovia.[22] Allowing time for the transmission of news of the disaster at Uclés, the gathering of a relief force and supplies, and the transit of the mountains of Galicia and the meseta of Old Castile, we may imagine that Urraca could have arrived at Segovia and joined her father in the first week of July 1108.

What then transpired? In the account of the "Historia Compostelana," Alfonso VI said he was going on from Segovia to Toledo and then to Compostela on pilgrimage. There is no evidence that he did either. A private document of Sahagún seems to place the court back there by September 4, 1108, for it is confirmed by the bishops of Toledo, León, and Astorga as well as by Count Henry.[23] From then until the new year, relevant documents are wanting. It is possible but unlikely that Alfonso VI had yet formally designated Urraca as his successor. Such an occurrence would surely have left some evidence.[24] It should be recalled that some-

[21] Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 1:97-98.

[22] Flórez, *ES*, 20:67-68. The author naturally highlights the role of Gelmírez, that being, after all, the focus of his narrative.

[23] AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 80r.

[24] Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España de los orígines a la baja Edad Media*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1955), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 390-391, speaks of a curia assembled in Toledo in 1108 in which Urraca was designated as successor and the choice of Alfonso I of Aragón as her husband was made. There is simply no contemporary evidence for such an assemblage.

time during this year the king took a new wife. Although he was ill, nothing suggests that he was merely passively awaiting his own death, and some ambiguity would have been useful to him, as always.[25]

At the very least, though, he was likely to have begun the search for a new husband for his daughter. That the Batallador should have been a candidate before the death of the Infans Sancho is unthinkable; no considerations would have moved the king to supply such a formidable rival for his then heir. But if such a possibility began to be explored in the summer of 1108, it is also unlikely that the marriage could have been celebrated that very year, as has been suggested by one of the most careful students of the question.[26]

In retrospect it is easy to understand the reasons that led Alfonso to settle on the king of Aragón as a husband for Urraca. Despite the fact that he intended to designate her as his heir, upon his own death every head of a powerful faction was bound to attempt to dominate her government. Because she was a woman, the claims of her own young son would be used against her. Her half sister Teresa might be expected to press her own claims as well, despite her illegitimate birth. Teresa's husband, Count Henry, was sure to

[25] According to a contemporary source, the king was ill for nineteen months before his death, that is, from December of 1107. One may be permitted to wonder if his fatal illness did not look more continuous in retrospect than it in fact was. But cf. Benito Sánchez Alonso, ed., *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo* (Madrid, 1924), p. 84.

[26] José María Ramos y Loscertales, "La sucesión del Rey Alfonso VI," *AHDE* 13 (1936-41):63-65. But to support this conclusion he has to reject the contemporary character of the account of "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," making it derivative, in part, from the Crónica of Pelayo; ibid., pp. 60-61. The argument is strained and fails utterly when the differences of the two accounts, such as the given age of the king at his death and the length of his reign, are taken into consideration. He also has to explain away too much documentary evidence. This minority view of the earlier marriage of Urraca was also held by Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70), 1:215, who based it on an old history of Ávila, and Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de León* (Pamplona, 1634), fol. 109r.

press his own suitability as warrior, male, and possible regent for Urraca's son. Yet Henry's claim would have the inevitable weaknesses of his own foreign birth, his wife's illegitimacy, and the suspicion that he would seek to supplant rather than support the claims of the young Alfonso Raimúndez.

A similar line of thought doubtless led the bishops and nobles of the realm to advocate the marriage of Urraca to Count Gómez González, then head of the powerful Lara clan of Castilla and former alférez of Alfonso.[27] But the king must have suspected that a Castilian party, even one closely identified with his own government, would have grave difficulties maintaining itself against the supporters of Count Henry or those of the young Alfonso Raimúndez, or the two in concert. Moreover, the greatest of the Leonese nobles, the exiled Count Pedro Ansúrez, had allied himself with the idea of a marriage with the king of Aragón.[28] In the clash of these factions, the old king could see only the prospect of civil strife, the possible loss of Toledo, and even the partition of the realm itself.

It is hardly to be wondered, therefore, that he should rather seek a solution in the choice of a husband for Urraca who was himself of the direct, dynastic line, already possessor of the transcendent dignity of kingship, and had already proven himself a formidable warrior. Alfonso of Aragón was, of course, all of these. As events were to prove, the Leonese monarch underestimated the liabilities of Alfonso of Aragón and the abilities of his own daughter, but his political reasoning had much to recommend it.

Whatever the wishes of Urraca herself as to the marriage, Count Henry of Portugal must have opposed her union with the king of Aragón as an insuperable obstacle to his own ambitions. Nevertheless the count continued at court, as is

[27] Jiménez de Rada, "De Rebus Hispaniae," pp. 145-146; Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, 2:644.

[28] Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), p. 73. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:319.

attested by his confirmation of private documents of Sahagún in March and May of 1109.[29] There may have been a drawing together, as well, of Henry and Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who also would oppose the marriage. Maurice, bishop of Coimbra, was translated to Braga at the end of 1108 or early 1109. Bishop Gonzalo replaced him at Coimbra about the same time.[30] Both men were protégés of the primate.

Did Urraca herself form part of this temporarily muted opposition to the prospective marriage? On February 22, 1109 she gave to Cluny the Galician monastery of San Vicente de Pombeiro. Surely she sought the friendship of the great Burgundian monastery for some purpose. The confirmation of the charter by both Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago and Archbishop Maurice of Braga seems to indicate the establishment of contacts that would involve the primate, Count Henry, and those interested in the future of Urraca and her son.[31]

Opponents of the Aragonese match may already have begun to employ the tactic, so successful later, of securing papal disapproval of the consanguineous marriage. After consulting with Bishop Gelmírez, Maurice of Braga had gone to Rome to secure approbation of his election and translation from Coimbra to Braga. A rash of papal letters datable to the spring of 1109 informs us, among other things, that Gel-

[29] March 27, 1109; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 892, no. 21, an original, and Códices, 989B, fol. 36. May 22, 1109; AHN, Códices, 989B, fols. 79v-80r.

[30] Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du* VI^e^ *au* XII^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1947), pp. 454-455. Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal in ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 14-16, believed that Gonzalo was elected to Coimbra later in the year while Maurice was in Rome obtaining the pallium.

[31] Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 4:654-655, publishes the charter from what he styled an original of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is by no means an original but a later copy with some attempt to imitate the visigothic script. He also read the date incorrectly. Charles Julian Bishko, "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration," *SM* 7 (1965):318-319. interprets the donation as Urraca's bid for Cluny's support of her rule in Galicia against her son's claims.

mírez had sent emissaries to Rome. Pope Paschal II, himself a former Cluniac, summoned the Archbishop of Toledo, the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Compostela, and the abbot of Sahagún to a council planned for the following Lent.[32] But no one could withstand the iron will of the dying king nor, as events were to prove, of the dead king.

On May 22, 1109 the court seems still to have been at Sahagún, for the Archbishop of Toledo, the bishops of León and Astorga, and Count Henry confirmed a private donation to the abbey on that date.[33] Very shortly afterward it must have moved to Toledo as the campaigning season advanced and the southern border of the realm erupted along its length, as was inevitable after Uclés. Well to the northeast of Toledo, Alcala fell to the Muslims in the spring of 1109 and a Christian counterattack was mounted in August.[34] In the west in July, Count Henry captured Santarem.[35] It was this campaign that kept him from the deathbed of Alfonso VI, although we are also told that, a few days before the latter's death, the count had left under the displeasure of his monarch.[36] Then, on June 30, 1109, Alfonso VI died.[37] "Las crónicas anónimas" says that his body was taken from the city on July 9 and interred at Sahagún on August 12.[38] Bishop Pelayo says that he was laid to rest at Sahagún on July 21, 1109.[39]

Suddenly, Urraca was queen. There was no doubt of that.

[32] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:86-93. The invitation to the council was issued to "G. Bracarensi," indicating that it preceded Maurice's arrival in Rome, but not necessarily the negotiations for the Aragonese marriage and the resultant alarm of many.

[33] See note 29.

[34] González, *Repoblación*, 1:99 and n. 71 and 73.

[35] David, *Études*, p. 301.

[36] Julio Payol y Alonso, ed., "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," *BRAH* 76 (1920):247.

[37] The literary sources vary from June 29 to July 1. For an archaeological record see Francisco Simon y Nieto, "El monasterio de San Salvador de Nogal," *BRAH* 35 (1899):207-208.

[38] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):121.

[39] Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo*, p. 87.

The author of "Las crónicas anónimas" says that he witnessed Alfonso's designation of her as his successor. Others present, he says, were Archbishop Bernard, Bishop Pedro of Palencia and almost all the nobles and counts of Spain.[40] "Urraka dei nutu totius yspanie regina" confirms the privileges of the church of León on July 22, 1109, the day after her father's burial as dated by Bishop Pelayo. Three-quarters, or twelve, of the then sixteen bishops of the realm confirmed. Foreshadowing the events to come, the bishops who seem not to have been in attendance were those of Coimbra and Orense in the west and of Nájera and Burgos in the east. Moreover, Count Henry had not rejoined the court but was at Coimbra on July 29, 1109, where he made a donation to that see.[41]

Of the secular confirmants, those most notably absent are again from Count Henry's domains, although the requirements of the border may explain the fact. Galicia is represented by but two, Count Pedro Froilaz and Count Suero Vermúdez. The Castilian border is likewise poorly represented by only Count Gómez González, perhaps the queen's lover and aspirant to be her husband, and Count Pedro González, future lover of Urraca, already confirming as her swordbearer. León is well represented by Counts Pedro Ansúrez of Carrión, Froila Díaz of León, and Rodrigo Muñoz of Astorga and by the nobles Martín Ordóñiz and

[40] "Quasi todos los nobles e condes de Espanna, los quales todos oyendolo, dexo el senorio de su rreino a la dicha donna Hurraca su fixa, la qual cosa me acontesçio oir, porque yo alli era presente"; *BRAH* 76 (1920):120-121.

[41] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:19-21, considers this charter an original. Torquato de Sousa Soares, "O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha: Sus relações com as monarquias Leonesa-Castelhana e Aragonesa," *RPH* 14 (1974):385-386, raises the possibility that Henry had abandoned his position in Portugal as a result of the displeasure of Alfonso VI. He cites this document and the presence of Archbishop Bernard there to consecrate the new bishop of Coimbra as evidence that Urraca had received the count back into favor. In fact the document mentions neither Bernard nor Gonzalo.

Diego Alvítiz. The largest single contingent, though, is made up of men largely identified with previous service to the crown: Alvar Fáñez, signing himself "Dux toletule," Fernando González, Alfonso, Fernando and Telo Téllez, Diego Díaz, Diego Sarracíniz, and Muño Gutiérrez, the queen's majordomo.[42]

This was probably the assemblage that decided that the marriage arranged by her late father would be honored. Lacarra has asserted that the Batallador was in Toledo before the death of Alfonso VI to make the necessary formal arrangements, but there is no evidence for such an event.[43] The thirteenth-century sources uniformly attribute the choice of the Aragonese king as husband to Alfonso VI, and it is impossible to imagine that it could have been another. The contemporary sources, however, make it the assemblage of the realm that enforces obedience to that choice, against her will as she will later say.[44] Urraca's assertion that she opposed the match may possibly be a bit of special pleading, but given her very rapid reaction against the marriage, it may well have been so.

"Las crónicas anónimas" says that this decision was made after Alfonso's interment and that the queen was given no choice. The implication of the text is that no one was really happy with the decision, but only Archbishop Bernard is explicitly mentioned as protesting the marriage of a couple

[42] The charter does not survive in the original. AC León, no. 1.002, a very early copy, bears the original confirmation of Alfonso VII datable to March of 1126. See Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):249 and n. 39. Other, later copies are in AC León, no. 1.003, and Tumbo, fol. 95; published in Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 36:94-96 app., and in Tomás Muñoz y Romero ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 99-101. Archbishop Maurice of Braga may have confirmed at this time, but the copyist was unsure how to place his name, which indicates that he might have confirmed it later.

[43] José María Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), p. 31.

[44] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:115 and 140.

who shared a common great-grandfather in Sancho the Great of Navarra.[45] The party bias of such a protest would have been immediately apparent to everyone present, who knew that the queen had also shared a great-grandfather in Robert the Pious of France with her first husband, Raymond, which fact had never drawn the primate's displeasure.

Everyone except Count Pedro Ansúrez and the old servants of the crown had cause for discontent with the decision, which assuredly was accepted for the moment only because their purposes were mutally exclusive. Count Henry of Portugal had his own ambitions for the crown itself, or a share of the realm. The Gallegans, their leader dead, saw the entrée to power he had promised them gone glimmering. The Castilians, whatever the personal ambitions of their leaders, stood to lose directly and most dearly from Aragonese expansion in the guise of marriage. All these frustrations and fears soon found expression.

Meanwhile Urraca ruled while she might. On September 10, 1109 she confirmed the fueros of the city of León. It was a matter of local concern, and those confirming the document are local officials or members of the queen's immediate circle. Pedro González continues as alférez. Most notable is the confirmation of three members of the family of the Gallegan Count Suero Vermúdez, his two brothers Alfonso and Guter, and possibly another brother, Muño, who just this once confirms as Urraca's majordomo.[46] The charter was probably issued in the city.

The last of the known charters of this period was issued on September 29, 1109, probably at Carrión on the way to

[45] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):121-122.

[46] AC León, Tumbo, fol. 103v, published in Flórez, *ES*, 12:396-397, and Risco, *ES*, 35:414-415; and in Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 94-95. For Alfonso Vermúdez see Sánchez Belda, *Chronica, Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 223. For Guter Vermúdez see Sánchez Belda, ibid., p. 238, and José Campelo, ed., *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Manuel Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), p. 216, n. 2. Muño Vermúdez appears as a Gallegan noble in Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:83.

her wedding at Monzón. It is a fuero for the men of the *terra* of León and Carrión. The queen is accompanied by very few bishops: Pedro of León, Pelayo of Oviedo, and Pedro of Palencia. The secular magnates who confirm are Count Pedro Ansúrez and the Leonese Count Froila, probably Díaz; two regular crown servants, Telo Téllez and Pelayo Martínez; Count Gómez, probably González; and one Fernando González, possibly a brother.[47] All told, it does not look like an impressive wedding party, although more may have been in attendance.

The castle of Monzón was a mere twenty-five kilometers from Carrión, so the likelihood is that Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragón were married in early October. "Las crónicas anónimas" says only that they were married during the vintage time, and most historians have settled on September, but that seems a little too early in light of the charter above.[48]

Her new husband was, as his nickname indicates, the foremost warrior in an age of not inconsiderable warriors. Beyond that, his person is barely separable from his public record. The contemporary chroniclers of León-Castilla have no love for him, and his own little kingdom produced only a few, spare annals. He is known largely for the unfortunate episode of his marriage to Urraca, for his conquest of the great taifa of Zaragoza in 1118, and for a will in 1134 that left his much-enlarged realm to the new military orders of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Holy Sepulcher. Neither the marriage nor the will accomplished its purpose.

The most personal note we have of Alfonso comes from

[47] BN, Manuscritos, 772, fols. 304r-305r, dated to October 5, 1109; published in Risco, *ES*, 35:416-417, and in Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, 96-98. Another copy apparently exists in Denmark; Ángel Fábrega Grau, "La biblioteca real de Copenhague: Manuscritos españoles en bibliotecas extranjeras," *HS* 1 (1948):189; it is dated October 7, 1109.

[48] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):122. The chronicler also says that on the night of the wedding it hailed, pretty well ruining the crop. One more charter, of which we have a notice only, probably belongs to the period before the wedding. See Luis Fernández Martín, "Registro de escrituras del monasterio de San Salvador de Celorio, 1070-1567," *BIEA* 78 (1973):44.

the Muslim historian Ibn al-Athir, who relates that once, asked about his failure to take concubines, Alfonso responded that "a real soldier lives with men, not women."[49] The remark has the ring of truth to it. Certainly Alfonso had not been married before his luckless match with Urraca in the fall of 1109. He was probably thirty-six at that time to his bride's twenty-nine.[50] After his definitive separation from her, he would never attempt marriage again, dying childless in 1134.

Urraca is reported to have accused him of physical abuse,[51] and the tendency has been to see him as a simple, direct, somewhat brutal soldier whose uncomplicated emotions found an outlet in religion rather than in domestic life.[52] Again, such a characterization may be true but it is based on very slim evidence. Yet it probably would have been equally true of a great many husbands of that period. In itself Alfonso's martial character need not have resulted in a failure of the marriage nor even have surprised his wife very much. The great failure, which rapidly made the marriage a political rather than a personal impossibility, was Alfonso's failure to beget a child by Urraca with the necessary speed. It has been argued that he was sterile and I am inclined to think that this was so.[53]

Whatever the cause, the failure to produce an heir, or the promise of one, in the early days of the marriage made it liable to all sorts of attack. Had a male heir been born to the couple, the question of consanguinity could have been managed. Even if the royal couple had eventually been compelled to separate, the problem of succession would have been alleviated both for Aragón and for León-Castilla. The bril-

[49] Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 32.

[50] Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, 'El Batallador,' King of Aragón and Navarre: A Reassessment," *Speculum* 50 (1975):639, n. 15.

[51] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:116.

[52] See Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, p. 76, for the verdict of a recent historian not at all unfriendly toward the larger, political possibilities of the marriage had it succeeded.

[53] Lourie, "Alfonso I," pp. 639-641.

liant prospect open to such an heir would have quickly attracted irresistible support while making Urraca and Alfonso's interim position practically unassailable. But a marriage without issue was eminently vulnerable. Its consanguineous nature and the rights of other heirs, already extant, were urged against it, and the settlement of Alfonso VI unraveled with startling speed.

Finally, against the temptation to account for the failure of the marriage on personal grounds when the evidence is both scant and partisan, one must remember that it was a political match for both Urraca and Alfonso. But for Alfonso of Aragón it was a match full of advantage and promise; for Urraca it was a duty and the loss of the authority she had known since September of 1107. For the queen, then, the failure of the marriage's chief purpose must inevitably have led to a search for other avenues to restore her authority.

The personal problems of the royal pair were hardly to develop in a vacuum, though. Resistance to the new state of affairs may have preceded the marriage itself. Galicia was the first province in rebellion and Count Pedro Froilaz, guardian of Alfonso Raimúndez, was its leader. It may have begun as soon as the count returned from León and the curia in July 1109 that agreed on the Aragonese marriage. It appears that even so soon the count began to enforce a particular loyalty to his young charge at the expense of the queen and her new husband, although our source does not so put the matter. The count's opponents, supporters of Urraca and Alfonso, reacted by forming a *hermandad* for mutual protection of each other and, by extension, the rights of the crown.[54]

[54] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:96-97. The "Historia Compostelana," often the only source for much of this period, is a composite work compiled by a number of authors with differing purposes. It was never intended as a general history of the realm. At its broadest, it is an episcopal *gesta*. The authors never set out to tell us what we want to know. The author with whose portions of the narrative we are most concerned was of French origin, and it is impossible to say when he appeared in Santiago. He may therefore be mistaken in some of what he relates. Finally, he is a partisan of the cause of the young Alfonso as well as of his patron and bishop, Gelmírez, and his

The bishop of Santiago de Compostela, Diego Gelmírez, also chose to associate himself with this latter group.[55] Almost certainly he would have been cautious at this point about the chances of success of the rebellion, and his shrine church was accustomed to the patronage and the largesse of the crown. His personal loyalties may also have lain with the young queen. But the lines in the province were inevitably drawn with reference to local concerns as well, so that the division assumed a north-sourth character.

In southern Galicia around Santiago the feudal authority of the bishop of Santiago was paramount. The north was the preserve of Count Pedro and the Trastamara family. The family holdings included the bishopric of Mondoñedo, whose bishop, Gonzalo, was the brother of Count Pedro.[56] When Bishop Gonzalo died in early 1108 Gelmírez took advantage of the vacancy to push harder for a solution of a long-standing border dispute between the two dioceses. By March of 1110 he had so far succeeded as to have secured oaths of loyalty from the clergy and laity of the districts in dispute.[57] In this effort he managed to prevail over the opposition of a new, and ill-fated, Bishop Pedro. The latter was also apparently related to the house of Traba.[58] A series of papal letters indicates that in this same period Bishop Gelmírez and Count Pedro were also at odds over the monastery of San Nicolás de Cinis.[59]

Another consideration that inevitably entered the calcula-

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statements as well as his judgments usually reflect that fact. See Bernard F. Reilly, "The 'Historia Compostelana': The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish 'Gesta,' " *Speculum* 44 (1969):78-85.

[55] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:97-98.

[56] Antonio López Ferreiro, "Próceres gallegos," *Compostellanum* 9 (1964):681. This article originally appeared in the *Almanaque de Ferrol* (1909), pp. 58-60. Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), p. 61, accepts the identification.

[57] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:74-84.

[58] Richard A. Fletcher, "Obispos olvidados del siglo XII de la diócesis de Mondoñedo y Lugo," *CEG* 28 (1973):318-325.

[59] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:91-93.

tions of the bishop of Santiago was the attitude of Count Henry of Portugal, who had his own reasons to be unhappy with the marriage and its implications. The count had not as yet declared himself. On December 10, 1109 he made a donation to Archbishop Maurice of Braga, probably in Braga to judge by the purely local character of the confirmants.[60] On the one hand, the Portuguese count had interests that tied him to the Count of Traba, and Pedro, the new bishop of Mondoñedo, had made his obedience to Maurice of Braga as his metropolitan late in 1108 or early in 1109.[61] On the other hand, the bishop of Santiago was nearer and a powerful figure in the realm. Archbishop Maurice of Braga had done homage to Gelmírez in return for the lands of Santiago in Portugal between the Limia and Duero on September 16, 1109.[62] He was unlikely to have taken such a step without the approval of the count.

In the heart of the realm, however, the political situation was apparently quiet. A private document of Sahagún, dated December 21, 1109, reads "Regnante adefonso rege aragonensi in legione" and the document was confirmed by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo and Bishops Pedro of León and Pedro of Palencia.[63] Also in December, perhaps about the same time as the Christmas court in Sahagún, a formal marriage agreement was worked out.

The tone of this document raises the question whether it is the first agreement or a revised one. Both parties agree that if either leaves the other against that other's will, the offender forfeits the loyalty of his or her followers. Alfonso in particular must agree not to desert Urraca for reasons of blood relationship or excommunication. The lands that Alfonso surrenders to his wife are of surprising extent and importance. Moreover, if he has a son by Urraca, the child and Urraca are to inherit his territories jointly after his death, but

[60] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:21-22.
[61] Fletcher, "Obispos olvidados," pp. 319 and 323.
[62] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:145-146.
[63] AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 132r.

even if there is no child Urraca and her heirs will inherit. In the case of the prior death of Urraca, Alfonso would inherit jointly with their child, if any, but would have only the usufruct of her lands during his lifetime if they had no issue. After his death her lands would go to Alfonso Raimúndez.[64]

The agreement seems to demonstrate the extent to which the Batallador was willing to make concessions. To meet the independence and sense of worth of his bride, he was prepared to be generous. To satisfy the objections of the supporters of Urraca's son he held out the inheritance of his lands if the marriage produced no heirs and Urraca survived him. At the very least, if the marriage produced no heirs, the reversion of Urraca's lands was pledged after his own decease even though he might have had children by a subsequent marriage. He could not, one thinks, have gone further and surrendered the rights of their possible mutual offspring or have recognized the right of the young Alfonso Raimúndez to an independent principality in Galicia. To do either would have been to guarantee civil war in the future. The alternative, as it developed, was civil war in the present.

For the moment, though, the threat of the Muslim occupied virtually everyone in the realm with the exception of Galicia and the far north. In the latter days of the summer of 1109 the leader of the Murābits, Ali ben Yusuf, had taken Talavera de la Reina to the west of Toledo. His troops seem also to have overrun much of the country to the northeast of Toledo about Madrid and Guadalajara as well.[65] This activity, especially around Talavera, threatened Count Henry and encouraged his Muslim subjects to rebel. He was tied down there, particularly at Santarem, through 1109 and in 1110 was defeated badly. On May 26, 1111 Santarem fell to

[64] The text survives only in three eighteenth-century copies. It has been edited by Ramos y Loscertales, "La sucesión," pp. 67-69.

[65] The chronology of the sources for the campaigns of 1109 and 1110 is not as clear as one would like. See González, *Repoblación*, 1:100-101, and García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 393.

the Murābits.[66] Those failures would have depressed his position relative to that of Alfonso of Aragón, who was more successful at this time.

Stimulated by the achievements of his co-religionists, al-Mustain of Zaragoza launched an offensive against Aragón in the winter of 1109-1110. Alfonso hastened east from Sahagún and defeated and killed his enemy at Valtierra north of Tudela on January 24, 1110.[67] Urraca accompanied her husband, and on March 24, 1110 is found issuing a charter to the monastery of Montearagón, one of the places ceded to her by Alfonso the preceding December.[68] Count Pedro Ansúrez may have accompanied them also and made the donation to the church of Pamplona dated only to 1110.[69] From the evidence of the documents, León-Castilla remained quiet in their absence, with Alfonso and Urraca regularly cited as joint sovereigns.[70] The royal pair may, in this

[66] David, *Études*, pp. 301-302.

[67] García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 398.

[68] AHN, Clero, carp. 622, no. 21; Códices, 222B, fol. 11.

[69] José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XII," *AA* 13 (1965):338-339.

[70] Documents of Sahagún. January 24, 1110; AHN, carp. 893, no. 1, and Códices, 989B, fols. 38v-39r. February 13, 1110; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 236v. March 9, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 2, and Códices, 989B, fol. 142. April 6, 1110; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 222r. June 6, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 4, published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 507-508, and Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 307-308.

There is also a document of the monastery of Vega, dated February 18, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 3.427, no. 6; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 35-37. On the other hand, two purported donations of Count Pedro Ansúrez dated March 29 and 30, 1110 refer only to Urraca as ruling. Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 1:72-74 and 78-79. The date of the first of these is fixed by reference to the second. Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* V *al* XIII, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 2:36, believes the second has been tampered with, and I suspect them as well. There is a document, dated May 1, 1110, of Oviedo that refers only

period, also jointly have swung south to visit the lands beyond the Duero.[71]

In early May, flushed with his success over Zaragoza, Alfonso marched to put down the rebellion in Galicia. "Las crónicas anónimas" says the queen went with him and that they had a falling out over Alfonso's execution of an enemy who had surrendered. Urraca left her husband to return to León while he devastated the countryside; but by a divine punishment, says our source, he was forced out of Galicia within three months.[72] Although the chronology is something of a problem, this account agrees with that given independently by the "Historia Compostelana."[73] Alfonso had captured the castle of Monteroso, roughly midway between Lugo and Santiago, and is said to have ravaged the lands of Count Pedro Froilaz. But the campaign could not have been too successful, and on July 13, 1110 he was at Samos in eastern Galicia apparently on his way back to León. The donation that he makes to the monks is sparsely confirmed.[74] Pedro

to Urraca; Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 341-343. It has a Bishop Diego of León as a confirmant whose episcopate begins two years later.

[71] Although the date cannot be fixed, Alfonso I and Urraca jointly confirmed the fueros of Castrojeriz; Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 37-42. There are two donations of the monarchs to the Riojan monastery of Santa María de Valbanera dated simply to 1110; Manuel Lucas Alvárez, "Libro Becerro del monasterio de Valbanera," *EEMCA* 4 (1951):602-603; Juan Antonio Llorente, ed., *Noticias históricas de las tres provincias vascongadas, Alava, Guipúzcoa, y Vizcaya*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1806-08), 4:10-11. The latter was granted at the castle of San Esteban de Gormaz on the upper Duero. Both cite, in the fashion of the Aragonese chancery, Count Gómez González "in Pontecorbo et in Cereso" and Count Pedro González "in Lara et in Medina," which would hardly be possible much later than the middle of 1110, after which both were supporting Urraca against Alfonso.

Alfonso and Urraca also jointly confirmed the fueros of Sepúlveda, though again without date. See Emilio Sáez, *Colección diplomática de Sepúlveda* (Segovia, 1956), pp. 7-8, for the various copies of the document.

[72] Payol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):243.

[73] Flórez, *ES*, 20:117.

[74] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 4, an original; published in Fletcher, "Obispos olvidados," pp. 323-324.

of Mondoñedo is the only bishop who appears, and that indiscretion contributed to the approaching loss of his see. Of the five nobles who confirm, only two, Suero Nuñez and Ero Armentárez, figured consistently in the records of the time and represent at least momentary defection from the old party that supported Count Raymond.

Such paltry results encouraged the Batallador's enemies and, returning toward León, the Aragonese was refused entrance to the fortress city of Astorga.[75] Worse, during his absence a papal condemnation of the marriage had arrived, and Urraca, meeting with Archbishop Bernard and Bishops Pedro of León and Pelayo of Oviedo, had agreed to separate from him.[76] Back on the scene, however, Alfonso seems to have brushed aside all objections, perhaps pending an appeal to Rome, and rushed on to Aragón, for two of his documents place him there while it is yet July.[77] During his absence in Galicia the partisans of the Murābits in Zaragoza had delivered that city into their control.

The needs of his native Aragón were to keep the Batallador there until the end of the year. Two documents, one dated to October 1110 and the other to December, place him there. The latter was issued at Montearagón.[78]

Meanwhile, his new kingdom was slipping from his control. As far back as June 26, 1110, while he must still have

[75] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):246.

[76] Ibid. The only extant text of such a papal letter is undated, addressed to Bishop Gelmírez, and preserved in the "Historia Compostelana," Flórez, *ES*, 20:98.

[77] Both published by Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 299-300 and 427-428. This seems early, but the urgency of the situation may explain it. Unfortunately the diplomatic study of the charters of Alfonso I, done by Pascual Galindo Romeo as a doctoral thesis for the University of Zaragoza in the 1920s, has never been published. Moreover, Carlos E. Corona Baratech, "Las tenencias en Aragón desde 1035 a 1134," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):379-396, is incomplete and therefore of limited help.

[78] October 1110; José María Lacarra, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):511-512. December 1110; Antonio Durán Gudiol, ed., *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca* (Saragossa, 1965), 1:131-132.

been in Galicia, Urraca had issued a diploma to the important Riojan noble Diego López in her own name as "Ispanie regina." It had been confirmed not only by Count Gómez González and Count Pedro González of Lara but also by Alvar Fáñez of Toledo and Count Rodrigo Muñoz of Astorga.[79] By August 15, 1110 the queen was at Nájera in the Rioja at the head of an army on her way to Zaragoza. A charter issued there to the monastery of San Millán was confirmed by most of the same nobles, with the important exception of Alvar Fáñez, and with the additions of Count Pedro Ansúrez and Bishops García of Burgos and Sancho of Nájera.[80]

Why Urraca was making a demonstration in the direction of Zaragoza is impossible to say. It may equally well have been either a politic gesture in support of Alfonso against the Muslim or a return to her father's policy of support for Zaragoza against Aragón. The most significant aspect of the incident is the demonstrated breadth of her following at this moment. Her actual line of march may have taken her more northward, toward the upper Ebro, for on September 6, 1110 she granted the monastery of San Adrián de Palmas to one Julian. She was accompanied by most of the same supporters.[81]

[79] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Coqolla* (Madrid, 1930), p. 298.

[80] Ibid., pp. 298-299: "Regina exivit cum suo exercitu pera Zesaragustam medio Agosto." Private documents of the period reflect this state of affairs by dropping the name of Alfonso I in favor of a simple citation of Urraca. August 18, 1110; Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:82-83. October 12, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 3:427, no. 7; published in Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pelayo y Vega*, pp. 37-38. October 23, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 961, no. 4, November 17, 1110; AD León, Monasterio de Gradefes, no. 14. November 21, 1110; AD León, Gradefes, no. 18, cites them as ruling together but it is a copy and lists Bishop Diego of León, whose episcopate dates from 1112.

[81] Goñi Gaztambide, "Obispos de Pamplona," pp. 340-341. Another charter, dated October 19, 1110, to the monastery of Santillana del Mar and given in Francisco de Sota, *Crónica de los príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid, 1681), p. 656, is more properly dated to September 19, 1111.

On October 15 Urraca had probably returned to Burgos, where she granted another charter to Pedro Julianez confirmed by most of the same nobles.[82] From Burgos the queen moved perhaps as far to the southwest as Valladolid. A swing through that area to consolidate support would have been useful. In any event, on December 15, 1110 she made a donation to the church of Valladolid confirmed by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, Bishop Pedro of Palencia, and Abbot Pons of Silos, as well as many of the same cortege that had accompanied her through the late summer and early fall.[83]

Urraca was back at Sahagún in time for Christmas court, where good news from the west awaited her. While she had been consolidating her authority in Rioja, Castilla, and the trans-Duero region, her supporters had scored a major success in Galicia.

In the late summer of 1110, the "Historia Compostelana" tells us, a sizable party from troubled Galicia had journeyed with the young Alfonso Raimúndez as far as Castrojeriz in Castilla. There they became convinced that Urraca was seeking a reconciliation with her husband, not just reinforcing her position on the border. Count Pedro Froilaz then consulted with Count Henry of Portugal. On the latter's advice, he seized those members of the party who were partisans of the queen rather than of her son, his ward. Returning to Galicia, he bargained their freedom for the surrender of a castle on the Río Miño, on the border of Portugal.[84]

Just how Count Henry had been consulted is not said. The inference is that he was in Castilla, but the threat to his

[82] AC Burgos, vol. 70, no. 103; published in Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:139-140.

[83] AC Palencia, armario 3, legajo 14, no. 4.

[84] Flórez, *ES*, 20:98-99. The author states the reconciliation as an established fact, which he may have believed or may simply have asserted as a justification of what was to follow. Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, p. 106, n. 2, identifies it as the castle at Santa María de Castrello, on the Miño near Ribadavia.

southern domains from the Murābits would seem to militate against that. The *Anales toledanos I* tell us that in 1110 the Muslims held Toledo under siege for nine days, so perhaps their major effort was there.[85] There are, however, two curious Portuguese charters issued in late October and early November of 1110 by the Infanta Teresa herself;[86] her husband does not appear. There is also a document of Sahagún, dated December 15, 1110, which he confirms.[87] It may be, then, that Pedro Froilaz was able to concert plans with him in person. In any event, the acquisition of the castle on the Miño must have been intended to establish communications between the two for the future.

But the Galician count had badly underestimated the energy and ability of his opponents. He had hardly ensconced his wife and the boy, Alfonso Raimúndez, in that castle when he himself was driven off and the castle hard besieged. To arrange terms both sides, we are told, summoned Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago in whom all had confidence. Or so it appeared. After Gelmírez had negotiated the surrender of the castle, he and Alfonso Raimúndez and Count Pedro's wife were all suddenly seized by the supporters of Urraca. After a few days the bishop was released in order to negotiate with the count of Traba.[88]

Thus, in the scarce six months since her separation from her husband, Urraca had come to enjoy the support of Castilla, León, Rioja, the trans-Duero "Extremadura," and at

[85] González, *Repoblación*, 1:101.

[86] October 29, 1110 and November 9, 1110; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:28-29 and 29-30. Sousa Soares, "O governo de Portugal," p. 391, takes these as a sign of his absence. The last charter placing Henry in Portugal is dated July 21, 1110; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:25-26.

[87] AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 236r; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 509.

[88] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:99-114. The author narrates all this as one continuous theme and, of course, the bishop is its hero. In the entire episode but one date is given, 1110, and the manuscript tradition varies on that. I believe the context and manuscript tradition best support a date of 1110 rather than 1111. See Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, pp. 117-118, n. 2.

least part of Galicia. So powerful had her position become that Alfonso of Aragón attended her Christmas court in 1110 for both its festivities and its negotiations. After the document of December 15, 1110 mentioned above, Count Henry may have returned to Portugal.[89] Of the Batallador's presence at Sahagún there is no doubt. On December 26, 1110 Urraca issued two donations, one to Suero Ordóñez and the other to the Countess Enderquina.[90] Both are issued in her own name and both are confirmed by her husband. They illustrate well the changed state of affairs since the previous winter, when Alfonso issued charters in both their names.

The visit of the Aragonese monarch to the court of his wife seems to have been brief. On January 18, 1111 Urraca was concerned with building support in the east of the realm and granted a donation to the monastery of Oña.[91] It was confirmed by the bishops of Burgos and of Palencia, by Fernando Garciaz of Hita, Alvar Fáñez, and Count Rodrigo Muñoz of Astorga. It was not confirmed by Alfonso I, who would have been an interested party. Two days later another

[89] A private document of Coimbra, dated December 25, 1110, states that it was drawn in his presence; see João Pedro Ribeiro, *Dissertações chronologicas e criticas sobre a historia e jurisprudencia ecclesiastica e civil de Portugal*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1857-96), 4:164-165. There is a charter of Urraca to the church of Valladolid, dated January 7, 1111; Acad. Hist., Sección de Catedrales, 9-25-1-C-4, fols. 20r-21r; published in Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:85-87, in which Henry is given as a confirmant. Unfortunately it also cites Bishop Raymond of Palencia, then deceased. It seems to be a reformulation of Urraca's charter to Valladolid of December 15, 1110, which neither Count Henry nor Bishop Raymond confirmed. See note 83.

[90] December 26, 1110; AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Oviedo, San Vicente, rollo 6.569; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo, 781-1200* (Madrid, 1929), p. 141, and in Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1968), pp. 231-232, an original. December 26, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 15; published in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El monasterio de Cornellana* (Oviedo, 1949), pp. 20-21, another original.

[91] AHN, Clero, carp. 272, no. 12; published in Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:166-167, who believed it to be an original. It seems to me to be rather a good copy.

charter of Urraca to the church of León was confirmed mostly by Leonese nobles. The king of Aragón does not appear, but the confirmation of one Count Suero Vermúdez of Galicia is interesting. It may indicate that even this early the queen was negotiating with Count Pedro Froilaz of Galicia and his allies.[92] Three pieces of documentary evidence indicate that the young Alfonso Raimúndez was soon to be formally associated with his mother in the government of the realm.[93]

So far as the Aragonese monarch was concerned, the time for negotiation was now over. He would assert his rights. At Carrión in Castilla, only thirty-five kilometers from Sahagún, he issued a donation in February 1111 "regnante me dei gratia in toleto, legione, castella et aragone."[94] Suiting action to words, in April 1111 he struck south and occupied Toledo.[95] For all parties concerned, the recourse would now be arms.

In Portugal, Count Henry was unable to react until the early summer. Documents of his chancery indicate his continuing presence there until June 1111.[96] Then, both the Aragonese occupation of Toledo and his own loss of Santarem

[92] January 20, 1111; AC León, no. 1.004; and another copy in the Tumbo, fols. 26v-27r. For the negotiations, see Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:114.

[93] February 11, 1111; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 5, a private document of Sahagún that appears to be an original, reads "regnante urraka regina et filio suo parvulo in legione." On the other hand, February 26, 1111, AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 6, reads "regnante rex adefonsus aragoneses regina orace in sedio patri sui in spania," but this is a later copy and the text is suspicious in other ways. Yet another private document, February 27, 1111, published in Eduardo Jusué, ed., *Libro de regla o cartulario de la antigua abadía de Santillana del Mar* (Madrid, 1912), pp. 13-14, cites Alfonso I and Urraca as jointly ruling León, Castilla, and Aragón, but it has dating problems. Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense* (Astorga, 1907), 2:176, contains a notice of a donation of April 14, 1111 to the monastery of San Salvador de Foncebadón by Urraca "y su hijo D. Alfonso." Finally, a private document of Astorga, dated May 25, 1111, BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 68v, cites both son and mother as reigning.

[94] AHN, Clero, carp. 711, no. 8, an original; published in Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 5 (1952):525-526.

[95] *Anales toledanos I* Flórez, *ES*, 23:387: "El rey de Aragón en XIII dias kalendas de mayo entró en Toledo e regno, Era MCXLIX."

[96] May 9, 1111; May 26, 1111; and June 1111; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:30-34.

to the Murābits on May 26, 1111 convinced him that drastic action was necessary. The count left for France, probably for Burgundy, to raise forces sufficient to establish his own and his wife's claims in the developing civil war.[97]

Yet another factor in his decision was the accord reached in Galicia between the parties of Urraca and her son. That agreement was to lead to the anointing and coronation of Alfonso Raimúndez at Santiago de Compostela by Bishop Gelmírez on September 19, 1111.[98] Shortly thereafter it would produce a Galician army marching over the mountains of León to the assistance of Urraca. Its more immediate effect was to end any possibility of Count Henry of Portugal's becoming the leader of the old Raimundist party.

The late summer found Urraca on the eastern frontier, at Burgos, where disaster struck. There she issued charters to the monasteries of Santillana del Mar in eastern Asturias and to Oña in Rioja. The notary who drew up the charters was Martín Peláez, canon of Santiago and former notary of Count Raymond, now making his first appearance in Urraca's chancery. He was later to pass naturally into the early chancery of Alfonso VII. His presence in the royal court at Burgos is one more sign of the bargain already struck by Urraca.[99]

[97] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):247: "traspado los montes Perineos por aver ayuda de los françeses, con los quales, guarneçido e esforçado, por fuerça toviese el rreino de Espanna." The author does not date his departure, and this must be done from the context of events and from the documents.

[98] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:114-121. The bishop's biographer tells us only that the coronation took place on the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost. In his version of the negotiations, Urraca is made to complain of the two-year-long expulsion of Bernard of Toledo from his see by the Batallador and a variety of other actions, some of which had in fact occurred by this date but others of which had not. Like many other parts of the "Historia Compostelana," the account is a reconstruction of events to which the author was not a witness. The essential truth of it is irrefutable, but details and dating must be correlated with other sources of the period.

[99] August 11, 1111 and September 19, 1111; Jusué, *Santillana del Mar*, pp. 68 and 11-12 respectively. The earlier of these has a dating problem and

If anything, the position of Urraca seems to have become too strong. Count Henry of Portugal, returning from his recruiting visit to France, joined forces with her estranged husband, Alfonso. At the battle of Candespina near Sepúlveda on October 26, 1111, Urraca's available forces were defeated. Count Pedro González of Lara fled back to Burgos and the queen. Count Gómez González was killed on the field by Count Henry himself.[100]

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may even be a fabrication founded on the latter. There are two charters to Oña as well: September 2, 1111; Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán*, pp. 299-301; and October 1111; AHN, Clero, carp. 272, no. 13; published in Alamo, *Colección de Oña*, 1:167-169, also in Filemón Arribas Arranz, *Paleografía documental hispánica*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1965), 1:46-47 and a plate, 2:18. Both scholars consider the latter donation an original. It is not.

The two Oña charters have been very troublesome because they are both issued by Alfonso el Batallador jointly with his wife, Urraca; but at this date a reconciliation would have been impossible. The charters to Santillana are issued by Urraca alone. Martín Peláez, partisan of Alfonso Raimúndez, would scarcely have been pressed into service to draft charters of his stepfather. I believe I have discovered the solution in the Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar y Castro, sig. O-7, fols. 15v-16r. These copies give two versions of the September 2 charter to Oña, one in joint name and the other in the name of Urraca alone. It is my belief that, given the border character that the area around Oña was to retain for some decades yet, some enterprising monastic scribe carefully prepared a set of copies designed to legitimize the holdings of the monastery regardless of the eventual victor.

[100] "Era MCXLVIIII, VII kal. novembr. rex Adefonsus aragonensis et comes Enricus occiderunt comitem domno Gomez in campo de Spina"; Huici y Miranda, "Annales Complutensis," *Crónicas latinas*, 1:50. "Era MCXLIX; occiderunt comitem Gometium"; "Annales Compostellani"; ibid., 1:70. The former date is also cited by María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I el Batallador y Segovia," *Estudios segovianos* 19 (1967):16, from a document of the chartulary of Saint Sernin of Toulouse.

"Las crónicas anónimas" does not date this key event, and Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História da Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:181-191, places it in October 1110. He reviews the entire chronology of the period, dating Count Henry's trip to France to the early spring of 1110. The most solid portion of his chronological argument is the disappearance of Count Gómez González, Count of Castilla, from the documents after October 15, 1110. Also, he cites the appearance of Rodrigo Múñoz as Count of Castilla in a document of Sahagún; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 236r; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 509. There are however, some diplomatic problems

According to "Las crónicas anónimas," the alliance that produced the victory was founded upon an agreement to divide the realm of León-Castilla between the victors. But Henry of Portugal may have found the prospect of the Batallador as a neighbor unnerving. The same source tells us that at Sepúlveda after the battle he was approached by followers of Urraca also offering a division of the realm. Since her cession would offer better title, Henry accepted and turned against his erstwhile ally. Forewarned, the Aragonese retreated to the nearly impregnable fortress of Peñafiel on the Duero, where the combined forces of Henry and Urraca besieged him without result.

From there the new allies withdrew northwest to Palencia to work out the details of the division, which would have given Henry both Zamora and the royal fortress at Ceia north of Sahagún. Obviously Henry wanted not only portions of the west but also a commanding position at the very heart of the realm and even territories in Castilla. While ostensibly carrying out the agreement, Urraca now entered into secret negotiations with Alfonso of Aragón. "Las crónicas anónimas" attributes her change of heart to the queenly pretensions of her half sister Teresa, who had joined her husband, Count Henry.

When Henry sent off to take possession of Zamora, Urraca and Teresa proceeded to Sahagún. Urraca then went on to León. She had also left instructions with her followers in

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with the latter, and it seems to me that the evidence in the preceding paragraph supports the traditional dating.

Lacarra, *Vida*, pp. 46-47, prefers 1111 also, but García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 401-402, follows Gonzaga de Azevedo. The most recent study of the origins and early history of the Portuguese kingdom, Peter Feige, "Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirche," *GAKS* 29 (1978):85-352, provides a close diplomatic study of the charters of Count Henry and Teresa and draws generally careful conclusions from them. However, he is less well informed on the Spanish documents, as distinct from the chronicles. As a result, he avoids trying to date either Henry's trip to France or the battle of Candespina; see pp. 136-137.

Palencia to surrender that city to Alfonso. So quickly did the Aragonese move that he almost captured Teresa as he entered Sahagún.[101]

From there he proceeded to the city of León. If Urraca had expected such swift action by her spouse, she probably

[101] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):247-249. The author narrates all this without supplying a single date or precisely datable event. Urraca's agent in the approach to Count Henry is identified as Fernando Garciaz of Hita. This detail builds conviction, for that noble was a regular at her court, confirming some twenty-four of her charters.

It seems probable that it was during this brief period that Count Henry of Portugal issued a fuero to the inhabitants of Oca, in the easternmost part of the province of Burgos, on the pilgrimage road from France. AHN, Clero, carp. 236; published in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:783-785 and, with discussion by José María Lacarra, in "Dos documentos interesantes para la historia de Portugal," *RPH* 3 (1947):291-305. A preface to the document speaks of the partition of the realm and Count Henry grants the fuero "cum consilio de Didago Vermudez." The latter had confirmed three documents of Alfonso VI and confirmed in all four of the documents to Santillana del Mar and to Oña cited in note 98 of this chapter.

If Henry is seen as a figure whose role was limited to the county of Portugal, the scheme of partition seems insubstantial and unrealistic. But he was never just that. He may have been a count in the territories around the monastery of Eslonza, just east of León, in 1088; see ch. 1, note 15. He was certainly count in Tordesillas in 1096 and early 1097; see ch. 1, note 57. His donation to Sahagún of March 21, 1101, published in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:11-12, shows that he held property then around Saldaña and may have continued to hold it on January 30, 1105. Cf. Charles Julian Bishko, "Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and the Antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório," *RPH* 13 (1970): pp. 161-162, n. 9. On April 25, 1109, published in García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 339-341, a private document of Oviedo cites "Henricus comes cum uxore sua Torasia imperante Tiniego," the latter an important position in western Asturias. Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971), pp. 352-353 and n. 3, believes the citation is a copyist's error in an otherwise genuine document. But consider that Pedro Peláez who was count in Tiniego on July 31, 1092—published in García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 285-286—and still on May 15, 1101—published in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El libro registro de Corias*, 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1950), 1:168-170, may be better known as the majordomo of Count Henry between 1101 and 1112; see Bishko, "Count Henrique," p. 164. In all these places Henry would have had at least some basis for securing support.

did not expect it to be so successful. To avoid becoming more a hostage than a wife, she retreated into the mountains of Galicia.[102] Whether she was in touch with her major supporters in that province is hard to say because of the vagueness of the chronological development. On the whole, one is inclined to think that she was not and that they were simply to blunder into a completely altered situation.

After the young Alfonso Raimúndez had been crowned in Santiago on September 19, Count Pedro Froilaz and Bishop Gelmírez had organized an army and an expedition. Marching west they first effected the surrender of Lugo, which had been held by partisans of the Batallador since his Galician expedition of 1110. That done, the army, perhaps somewhat reduced in numbers, proceeded over the mountains of León

[102] The whereabouts of Urraca at this point is an almost insoluble puzzle. The HC, ed. Flórez, *ES*, 20:123-124, tells us that after the losing battle, Urraca's son was brought to her by Bishop Gelmírez "in forti Castello Orzilione (quod Castrum est in Castella)." The bishop then returned to collect the wounded and fugitive in Astorga before traveling back to Santiago de Compostela. There is, in a part of the district of Orense called Castela, a castle called Orcellón. See Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, p. 126, n. 1, who nevertheless says that the castle of which the text is probably speaking is rather in the province of Burgos. At one other point, in 1121, the HC refers to a castle at Orzilione, and this time it is clear that the one near Orense is being discussed; Flórez, *ES*, 20:329.

It seems to me likely that Urraca was in what we now call Galicia at Orcellón. The queen had been moving west from Palencia, through Sahagún and León. Should we imagine her doubling back, through the lands being consolidated by her husband? Can we credit that Bishop Gelmírez, fleeing from defeat with the Aragonese monarch's greatest prize in his custody, traversed the same lands twice, once to deliver the boy to his mother and then to return to Astorga for the wounded?

Still, the HC goes on to speak of Urraca leaving her son in the fortress: "ad Gallaetiam proficisci disposuit. Ad asperos itaque Astures montesque lapidosos iter aggrediens, per Ovetum transitum fecit"; Flórez, *ES*, 20:124. For this reason, like Campelo, historians have taken "Castella" to be "Castilla." Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 49, suggested the castle at Monzón. If, however, we assume that for the contemporary author—unlike for ourselves—the Orense district was not regarded as part of Galicia proper, then the passage above permits the interpretation I follow here.

toward that city. At Viadangos, some twenty kilometers from León, they were ambushed by Alfonso of Aragón. Outnumbered roughly three to one, according to the "Historia Compostelana," they were badly defeated. Count Pedro himself was captured. Those who managed to escape retreated hastily to the city of Astorga, hostile as before to the Aragonese monarch.

But the greatest prize escaped the victor. Seeing the battle turning into a rout, Bishop Gelmírez fled, taking with him Count Raymond's son, the young king Alfonso, and delivered him safely to his mother in Galicia.[103] Whether the prelate acted out of pure panic, the direst necessity, basic loyalty to his queen, or a combination of all three, the result was the same. For the first time during her reign Urraca had the priceless advantage of physical custody of her son, who constituted the most potent rallying point for any opposition to her own rule.

Gelmírez's action had delivered Urraca again from the power of her husband. In the field, the latter was almost everywhere victorious and the kingdom was in his hands from Toledo to León. He seems to have reached an accord with Count Henry, and a document of Sahagún of December 20, 1111 reads "regnante rex addefonsus in legione in carrione simul in aragone. . . . Henricus comes in alcamora et in astorice simul in portucal."[104] Urraca is not even mentioned. But without her as wife, Alfonso had scarce title to what he had conquered, and as long as she had possession of her son she held the key to the support of the Raimundist faction in the lands of the west. Henry of Portugal would have to treat with her.

Urraca's problem in the winter of 1111-1112 was the translation of her moral and legal authority, as designated heir of her father and mother to the succession, into military and financial support. With rare lapses, however, the queen

[103] Flórez, *ES*, 20:119-123, relates the entire episode.

[104] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 7.

seems always to have been more astute at diplomacy and politics than were her adversaries. By late winter she seems to have reached some sort of accord with Henry of Portugal. On March 1, 1112 Count Henry granted property in Astorga to Count Froila Díaz, long a member of the Raimundist group and a supportèr of the queen. Urraca and her son confirmed it. The list of confirmants includes many figures identifiable with their cause in the regions of Astorga and Bierzo. Count Pedro Ansúrez also confirms, indicating that the powerful Leonese magnate continued his support.[105]

From Astorga the queen moved north to rally the province of Asturias to her cause and to ensure the support of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, appointee and chronicler of her father.[106] There, on March 27, 1112, she granted a charter to the church of Oviedo in return for substantial financial support.[107] Associated with the queen in the issuance of the charter were her son, Count Henry, and his wife, Teresa, who had accompanied her. This donation demonstrates that the new coalition against Alfonso of Aragón was growing steadily.

[105] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:37-38. For the family connections of Count Froila Díaz see Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Estudios de historia de Asturias* (Oviedo, 1962), p. 109.

[106] This itinerary is in rough conformity with the account of the HC; Flórez, *ES*, 20:124. See note 102 above.

[107] García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 345-347, and Risco, *ES*, 38:347-349. Another copy of the document unknown to García Larragueta is to be found in the Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, sig. O-8, fols. 111r-112r. The document cannot be entirely trusted, for it is clearly interpolated. See Fernández Conde, *Libro de testamentos*, pp. 354-361, and Floriano Cumbreño, *Estudios de Asturias*, pp. 136-137. Still, both authorities admit that it was probably based on an authentic donation of more limited scope. It is unlikely as well that a simple forger would have departed so far from the usual form of royal documents as to associate Henry and Teresa with the queen if the original document had not done so. Also, a much more limited, simple charter of Urraca to a canon of Oviedo, dated March 29, 1112, is preserved and is also a donation in return for financial assistance; García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 348-349. Significantly, every one of Urraca's seven surviving charters of 1112 associates her son with her in the government of the realm.

Turning west, Urraca held Easter court in Santiago on April 21, 1112, and spent much time and energy consolidating her support in Galicia.[108] On April 28 she was on the border of the county of Portugal at Túy, where she and her son issued a charter in favor of that cathedral.[109] The continuing rapprochement between Urraca and Count Henry is indicated on April 12, when his own charter to Braga was confirmed by the bishops of Santiago, Túy, Orense, and Lugo.[110] So much did the queen hold the upper hand that two canons of Santiago, Muño and Hugo, were elected to the sees of Mondoñedo and Oporto at that time. Both sees were suffragans of Braga. In addition, the election of Muño involved the deposition of Bishop Pedro of Mondoñedo, who had been unwise enough to support Alfonso of Aragon in the spring of 1110, although our source ignores that aspect of the affair.[111]

Her husband meanwhile was attempting to consolidate his position in León-Castilla. He seems to have introduced an Aragonese garrison at Sahagún, where the burghers were favorable to him. Under pressure the abbot of Sahagún abdicated, but Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who was present there, managed to secure the choice of another monk without the knowledge of Alfonso. The king however, was not to be balked, and forced the installation of his own brother, Ramiro, as abbot.[112] Probably also at this time Alfonso moved

[108] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:123-128. Flórez dated this 1111, but it is clear that the author of the account is confused. See Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, p. 128, n. 1 and p. 131, n. 1; and Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington, D.C., 1949), pp. 84-85, n. 113.

[109] AC Túy, 4/1, an original, and copies 3/3, 3/4, and Primer Libro Becerro, fols. 108r-109v. Another copy exists in AG Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, legajo 1.672, Varios-Túy, no. 14, fols. 25r-27r. The diploma is published in Flórez, *ES*, 22:254-256, and in Pascual Galindo Romeo, *Túy en la baja Edad Media* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 6-7 app.

[110] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:40-41.

[111] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:144-145, and Fletcher, "Obispos olvidados," pp. 318-321.

[112] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):250-257 and 339-343. Again the chronology of the narrative is obscure and must be supplemented by that of the documents.

against the hierarchy of the realm, expelling the bishops of León and Burgos from their sees and taking prisoner those of Toledo, Osma, Palencia, and Orense. Although there is some confusion in our source, some such action undoubtedly took place.[113]

Whether these initiatives strengthened Alfonso as much as they hurt him is hard to say. He was shortly to be in difficulty, for Urraca had completed her preparations and was marching against him. By the first of May she was at Astorga, only forty kilometers away. With her were Prior Stephen of the Cluniac house of San Zoil in Carrión; the treasurer of Cluny, Dalmatius Geret; and Archbishop Maurice of Braga. The presence of the Cluniacs probably indicates negotiations to secure the support of that great power for her sole rule on the condition that she designate her son as successor.[114]

The queen was also still building support in Galicia. No fewer than six of her documents dealing with that region survive for the month of May. She may even have had to return briefly to Santiago for aid.[115] The confirmants to these documents indicate the presence in her camp of most of the old adherents of the party of Count Raymond and a scattering of old servants of her father. Also present is Count Pedro Froilaz, who we may suspect had been released by Alfonso

[113] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:116 and 141. The two accounts do not entirely agree. In addition, Alfonso would never have had the power to seize the bishop of Orense unless, perhaps, he captured him in battle.

[114] She confirmed a private donation to Cluny made there; Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 5:251-253. There is also a notice of a donation of her own on the same date to the cathedral of Astorga; Francisco de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1719-21), 2:13-14.

[115] These documents, like most, do not specify the place of issuance. May 1112; AC Santiago, Tumbo C, fol. 118v; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83. May 14, 1112; AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fols. 30v-31r; ibid., pp. 79-80. May 18, 1112; AHN, Microfilmas, Lugo, rollo 5.869, an original. May 27, 1112; AHN, Códices, 1.044B, fols. 15v-16v and 128v-129v. These are two documents of the monastery of San Lorenzo. May 31, 1112; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 5; a donation to the monastery of Samos.

of Aragón in the hope that he might sow division between the respective followers of Urraca and her son.

Two other charters of the same month reveal more about the intentions and the prospects of the queen. One is a donation to the Leonese nobles Telo and Fernando Téllez, who also had ties to Count Henry of Portugal. Although he does not appear in these documents of local import, the count was certainly there. The other is a charter to one Diego Arias. The confirmants illustrate the rallying to Urraca of important magnates of Asturias, León, Rioja, and Castilla.[116] The "Historia Compostelana" indicates that they joined her at Astorga. On the other hand, it says that the king of Aragón, as he advanced to the siege, was also supported by men of Rioja, Castilla, and León. Alfonso, however, was defeated and had to retreat to Carrión in Castilla, where he was besieged for a time by Urraca and her followers.[117]

This siege ended in yet another brief reconciliation between the spouses. The initiative seems again to have been Urraca's and was probably the result of the exorbitant price of the Portuguese alliance then, as it had been in the previous fall. By May 22, 1112 Count Henry of Portugal was dead, perhaps from wounds received at Astorga, but his widow continued his policy.[118] One need not accept the purported treaty between Urraca and her sister, recorded in the "Liber Fidei" of Braga, in order to credit Teresa's desire to retain Zamora, Salamanca, perhaps Ávila, and the modern prov-

[116] May 1112; AC León, Fondo particular, no. 294. May 9, 1112; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 80r.

[117] Flórez, *ES*, 20:128-130.

[118] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:45 and 576-577: "post morte de ille comes Herricus." Azevado believes the document may be an original. The character of the citation—of "Rex Anfus Aronggones. Regina Urraka"—to this donation of the Infanta Teresa suggests to me that it is, rather, a contemporary copy to which their names have been added by way of precaution. "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):254, says that both Urraca and Alfonso were besieged at Carrión by Count Henry, but this may be a reference to an otherwise unknown event of the previous fall.

ince of Extremadura, all in the Count's hands at the time of his death, and Urraca's unwillingness to allow just that.[119]

For a period of almost five months, from the end of May until late October, the documentary record of the queen fails and we must depend on the chroniclers.[120] The reunion of Alfonso of Aragón and Urraca was an uneasy one and endured only for the summer of 1112. The "Historia Compostelana" tells of a visit to Spain by the abbot of Chiusa in Piedmont, a papal legate, and of his attempts to secure the separation of the royal pair.[121] It relates also the efforts of the

[119] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:42 and 569-570. The treaty is undated. Given its various peculiarities, discussed by Pinto de Azevado, I am inclined to view it as a fabrication of the age of Alfonso VII designed to justify Portuguese claims or, at least, to serve as a bargaining tool. If accepted at all, it must be of approximately this date. The absence of any mention of Count Henry surely places it after his death, for nothing would justify our assuming such independence of function in his wife during his lifetime. After 1112, as we shall see, Urraca will never again be in such desperate straits as to assent to such a vast alienation nor Teresa in such a position of power as to exact it. See Sousa Soares, "O governo de Portugal," pp. 394-395, and Feige, "Die Anfänge," pp. 141-142.

Another, more partial indication of the Infanta Teresa's power at this time is seen in the confirmation of her charter of August 1, 1112 by Bishop Jerome of Salamanca; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:46-47, and Antonio da Assunção Meirales, ed., *Memorias do mosteiro de Pombeiro* (Lisbon, 1942), p. 122. This is the only occasion on which that bishop, whose see was the only one between Portugal and the Sierra de Gredos, confirmed a product of the Portuguese chancery.

[120] Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de los reyes*, fol. 122r, cites a grant of Urraca to the monks of Samos that actually is the one of May 31, 1112. See note 113. A private donation of Lorenzana, AHN, Códices, sig. 1044B, fols. 14v-15r, dated June 13, 1112, is certainly closely related to those of May 27, 1112. It is confirmed by Urraca and probably should be of the earlier date. Finally, a notice of a donation of Urraca to the monastery of San Isidro de las Dueñas, dated July 4, 1112, is of a later date, indicated by the confirmation of Bishop Paschal of Burgos. BN, Manuscritos, sig. 720, fols. 276v-277v, and Acad. Hist., Colección Velásquez, 4, no. 1395.

[121] Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish Journey of Abbot Ponce of Cluny," *Ricerche di storia religiosa* 1 (1957):311-319, argues that the legate has been wrongly identified and that the event should also be redated to 1113. The latter especially is necessary, for it is clear that Abbot Pons was in France

spouses themselves, together with the magnates of León and Castilla, to secure a firm definition of the conditions of their joint rule. Finally, it says, Alfonso violated those conditions by installing Aragonese garrisons in such strong points as he could. Faced by the subsequent opposition of the magnates assembled at Sahagún, he fled east.[122]

"Las crónicas anónimas" recounts much the same story, with several additions. For one, it says that Urraca agreed to go to Aragón while her husband remained in León and that Alfonso considered having her seized and imprisoned there. The chronicler places the queen in Huesca, whither the displaced Abbot Domingo goes to complain to her. In her absence, Alfonso carried forward the installation of the Aragonese garrisons. The queen returned, meeting Alfonso at Valtierra on the Ebro first, and going on to Burgos, Carrión, and Sahagún after Alfonso became very sick.

According to the chronicle, the burghers of the cities of the pilgrimage road took the initiative in reminding Alfonso of the conditions he had agreed to observe. The king, somewhat chastened, rejoined Urraca and together they advanced to besiege the Infanta Teresa in Astorga. The latter managed to convince Alfonso that Urraca was plotting against his life, we are told, and Urraca fled back to León and then to Sahagún, where she found solid support. Alfonso, too, re-

during the summer of 1112. The redating is impossible for a number of reasons. The chief among these is that in 1113 the two rulers were no longer reconciled but at war. The papacy might not have been aware of this, but the author of the HC would have been. Moreover, if the legate's journey had taken place during the summer of 1113 the legate need not have journeyed on to Galicia to see Bishop Gelmírez after conferring with Urraca. As we shall see, the documents place Gelmírez with Urraca during the summer and early fall of 1113. Finally, H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Abbot Pontius of Cluny (1109-22/6); Two Studies in Cluniac History (1049-1126)," *Studi gregoriani* 11 (1978):200-201 and n. 76, considers that two letters later written to Gelmírez by Pons imply that the two had never met.

[122] Flórez, *ES*, 20:138-144.

turned to Sahagún and later withdrew east after yet another futile conference.[123]

The dizzying permutations of the summer were unsettling in Galicia, where a revolt broke out that doubtless had local roots although the rebels probably claimed to be supporting the reunited king and queen. Bishop Diego Gelmírez put it down in the name of the queen and her son.[124] By September 3, 1112 Gelmírez was also patching up relations with the Portuguese. On that date a private donation to the border church of Túy was confirmed not only by Archbishop Maurice of Braga and Gelmírez but also by the bishops of Túy, Orense, Lugo, and Astorga.[125]

By October 21, 1112 Urraca was back in León. She issued a charter on that date rewarding the faithful Count Froila Díaz of Astorga for his unfailing support.[126] The confirmants are Count Pedro Ansúrez, Pedro Díaz, and Fernando Téllez, all of León; Count Pedro González and Guter Fernández, the Castilians; and Galicia was represented by Count Pedro Froilaz, Count Suario Vermúdez, and Count Rodrigo

[123] *BRAH* 76 (1920):255-257 and 339-349. Jiménez de Rada, "De Rebus Hispaniae," pp. 147-148, turns the idea of the imprisonment of Urraca into a fact. He was probably following epic sources.

A charter of Alfonso I to Santo Domingo de la Calzada, dated to July 1112, has the king at war with Diego López of Haro, a staunch supporter of Urraca at Castrojeriz; Gregorio de Balparda y las Herrarias, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y de sus fueros*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1924 and Bilbao, 1933-34), 2:307. However, José María Lacarra, "Alfonso el Batallador y las paces de Támara," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):463, n. 6, points out that each of the redactions in the cartulary is dated differently and that the earliest copy is dated July 1124. A document of AC León, no. 1.385, dated June 3, 1112, cites the Batallador as reigning in León and "Mauritius archiepiscopus in legione" and would seem to fix the date for the cooperation of the Aragonese and Teresa of Portugal.

[124] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:130-136.

[125] AC Túy, 3/22; published in Flórez, *ES*, 22:250-253.

[126] AD León; Santa María de las Dueñas de Otero, no. 221, an original. There is also a copy of an exchange of properties between Urraca and one María Froilaz in the same collection, no. 220, dated to October 20, 1112.

Velázquez. The essential support of Urraca had survived the trials of the past year, which had begun with the defeat at Candespira.

In the fall of 1112, then, a little more than three years after the death of her father, the experiment of the Aragonese marriage was definitely ended. Urraca was now to be ruler of her father's realm in her own right. How much of it she would retain was another question. The loyalty of Asturias apparently had never been in doubt. León had been held against her husband. Association with her son, still only seven, had secured the allegiance of Galicia. The west, Zamora, Extremadura, and Portugal remained in the hands of her half sister Teresa.

More important for the moment, most of Castilla remained in the hands of the king of Aragón and his garrisons, although Urraca also enjoyed strong support there. What his intentions would prove to be remained her central problem. Rioja, along the upper Ebro, and Soria, on the upper Duero, were potential acquisitions for an ambitious, aggressive king of Aragón. Their relationship to León-Castilla was new, the work of her father. To Alfonso, their possession would, at worst, neutralize Murābit Zaragoza and, at best, provide salients for its conquest.

Finally, there was Toledo. That realm had been her father's greatest prize. Now it lay under the permanent threat of Murābit reconquest. Furthermore, the city had received her husband, the king-emperor in the spring of 1111. Urraca enjoyed the loyalty of Alvar Fáñez in the land's eastern reaches and of its archbishop, but no king claiming the title of emperor could permit the loss, without a contest, of the ancient capitol of the Visigoths and the primatial see of all Spain. To restore and protect the integrity of her inheritance, the kingdom of her father, could be the only task of Queen Urraca. Somehow she must control and direct the centrifugal forces, represented by the great magnates of Lara and Trastamara, toward that restoration. Such would be the purpose and, ultimately, the measure of her rule.

THREE

WAR WITH ARAGÓN (1113-1116)

AFTER the failure of their last attempt at reconciliation in the summer of 1112, the first task of Urraca was to reclaim all of Castilla, that of Alfonso of Aragón to hold what he had gained. The meseta of *Castilla la Vieja* is a unit extending from Astorga in the west to Burgos and Soria in the east and from the Cordillera Cantabrica in the north to the Guadarramas in the south. If El Batallador was not her husband then he was, of necessity, Urraca's rival and enemy for control of that single expanse of plain on which political divisions were never more than imaginary lines drawn by power.

The realm of Toledo was a secondary but important area of conflict. Since its reconquest by Alfonso VI the old Visigothic capital had become intimately linked with the imperial title and thus the claim to ultimate suzerainty in the peninsula for Christian Iberians. In addition, its successful defense against the Murābits and its subsequent exploitation promised to add power to the legal title of emperor for whoever held it. Neither Alfonso, who continued to style himself "emperor," nor Urraca, who preferred to be called "queen of Spain," could afford to lose it to the other.

The Leonese queen could count on the loyalty of Asturias. Galicia, behind its mountain shield, had become almost a third power rather than a province, ruled in uneasy alliance by the bishop of Compostela and Count Pedro Froilaz. Her son, Alfonso Raimúndez, was the ward of those two and the ultimate basis of their practical ability to govern there in near independence of her. To secure their active support, Urraca had probably had to return physical custody of the boy king to them in the spring of 1112. But that problem

could, and had to, wait in 1113. Urraca had no little support in Galicia and could always secure more, even from the Raimundist faction, by displaying interest in a renewal of her relationship with the Aragonese king.

More threatening to the queen's position as heir of all her father's dominions was the de facto independence of Portugal under her half sister. What, finally, might be made of the lands stretching along the Atlantic from Braga to Coimbra, to which had been lately added modern Extremadura north of the Duero, Zamora, perhaps Salamanca, and a portion of what is now southern Galicia, running from Túy inland at least as far as Orense? Hindsight tempts us to see these lands as an inchoate, greater Portugal. But Teresa was, after all, a daughter of Alfonso VI. If some accident or illness carried off the young Alfonso Raimúndez, her own son, Alfonso Enríquez, would have no small prospect of succeeding his aunt. For the moment, though, the youth of both these potential claimants, successors, and rivals made them far less immediate threats than Urraca's former husband.

In the task of reclaiming all Castilla, Urraca was aided by the fact of her considerable support there among the nobility, especially the great nobility. On the other hand, whereas Alfonso of Aragón had garrisons in the more important towns like Carrión, Castrojeriz, and Burgos itself, the support of the restive burgher class in those towns, and probably some adherents among the lesser nobles, his situation was precarious from the first. Along his line of communication and reinforcement with Aragón proper, Murābit Zaragoza lay dangerously close to the south. That line also passed through Nájera and the scarcely reliable lands of Rioja.

It is likely that his attempt to retain eastern Castilla was, from 1112 on, prompted by the needs of defense. Without eastern Castilla, to which he had but dubious title since the rupture of his marriage, he would have been hard pressed to retain Rioja on the upper Ebro. Similarly, in the south, without control of Toledo on the old military road from Córdoba along the upper Tajo and the Jalón to Zaragoza, the

prospect of reinforcement of the latter city from the south posed a constant menace. Political realities, then, demanded that he retain the imperial title and seek such an agreement with his former wife as would protect those essential interests.

Urraca's policy was much simpler. She had simply to retake from her formidable adversary the full inheritance that was rightfully hers now that the marriage was over. Although the chronology of "Las crónicas anónimas," is tangled, it seems that in September of 1112 she had forced the surrender of the Aragonese garrison in the castle of Ceia north of Sahagún.[1] That success had pushed the frontier with Alfonso back to the Río Carrión.

Perhaps at Sahagún or León, and probably toward the end of her Christmas court, Urraca issued a charter on January 4, 1113 that speaks to both her position and her intentions at that time. Confirming it were the faithful Bishops Pelayo of Astorga, Pelayo of Oviedo, Pedro of Palencia, and, surprisingly, Bishop Jerome of Salamanca. His presence probably indicates the existence at this date of negotiations with the Infanta Teresa.

Lay magnates who confirmed consisted of the solid, Leonese bloc of Counts Pedro Ansúrez and Froila Díaz, Pedro Díaz, Diego Sarracínez, Rodrigo Vermúdez, and Martín Ordóñez. Counts Pedro González and Rodrigo Muñoz, the latter of Asturias, also confirmed. Finally, Alvar Fáñez confirmed, indicating that the affairs of the realm of Toledo were of current interest to the crown.[2]

In terms of territory rather than personal adherence, the extent of Urraca's actual control at this time is difficult to ascertain. I am inclined to believe that it extended, however precariously, to Toledo. After April 1111, the *Anales toledanos* no longer speak of Alfonso of Aragón. Rather, it

[1] Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., *BRAH* 76 (1920):350.

[2] AC León, no. 9.277, an original. Bishop Diego of León also confirmed, but the location of his name on the document makes it likely that he did so subsequently.

appears that from July of 1111 Alvar Fáñez was practical ruler of the city and its territories.[3] Such an assumption is borne out by another charter of Urraca, dated March 19, 1113, which gave the monastery of San Servando outside Toledo to that see. This was done "una cum consensu albari fanniz tunc temporis toletani principis."[4]

Her writ also ran in a salient eastward, south of Burgos, along the upper Duero. Bishops Raymond of Osma and Pedro of Palencia confirmed the charter of March 19, along with Alvar Fáñez. Another charter of February 22, 1113, now apparently lost, granted land in San Esteban de Gormaz to a supporter,[5] and a private document of June 13, 1113 mentions Count Pedro González as holding the fortress of Peñafiel somewhat farther west on the Duero.[6]

Still, Alfonso of Aragón had surrendered none of his claims. An original charter of his, dated April 13, 1113, recited his claims to rule Toledo, León, Castilla, and Aragón and named his supporter Aznar Aznárez as señor of San Esteban de Gormaz.[7]

[3] Ambrosio Huici y Miranda, ed., *Las crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1913), 1:345 and 358.

[4] AHN, Sección de Códices, 987B, fol. 41, and 996B, fols. 54v-55r. Both copies are dated to 1083. Fidel Fita, "El monasterio toledano de San Servando: Examen crítico de una bula de Pascual II y de un diploma de la reina Doña Urraca," *BRAH* 48 (1906):492-500, published the text and established the correct date. January 23, 1113; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 893, no. 8, a private document of Sahagún, reads "regnante regina horracha cum suo filio in toleto et in legione" and also "sanxio iohannes revelato in ceia." The latter's name appears subsequently in two charters of Alfonso of Aragón. The document is a copy and is dated to 1112. Other citations make that date impossible, but 1113 would be acceptable.

[5] Cited in Francisco de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1719-21), 2:15-16, and Juan Loperráez Corvalón, *Descripción historica del obispado de Osma*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1788), 1:98.

[6] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 10.

[7] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.405, no. 15; published in Antonio Durán Gudiol, ed., *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca* (Saragossa, 1965), 1:135-136, from a copy in that archive. Another private document, dated March 31, 1113, cites Alfonso as ruling in León but the dating formula is flawed; published in Eduardo Jusué, ed., *Libro de regla o cartulario de la antigua abadía de Santillana del Mar* (Madrid, 1912), pp. 90-91.

The attack against Burgos now being planned by Urraca would be risky, and she was soliciting aid in various quarters. On April 14, 1113 Pope Paschal II dispatched to Spain a letter threatening excommunication of those who plundered ecclesiastical goods.[8] Its unspecified target may have been the Aragonese king, widely accused by his enemies of doing just that. On a more mundane level, Urraca had written to Bishop Gelmírez to request swift military assistance.[9]

Important reinforcements were forthcoming but not as swiftly as the queen desired. Gelmírez had first to attend to the consecration of his canons, Hugh and Muño, to the sees of Oporto and Mondoñedo. That was done on March 23 by Archbishop Maurice of Braga and was probably accompanied by guarantees that the Infanta Teresa would undertake no offensive action during the coming campaign. Not until May 30 did that expedition leave.[10] Even then the state of relations between the queen and the magnates of Galicia is vividly reflected in our source. Only after much negotiation and discussion did they finally join Urraca at Carrión, which by this time had passed into the hands of the queen.[11]

Here Urraca learned that the Batallador planned to reinforce the Aragonese garrison of the citadel of Burgos on the following day. Marching that night, her forces covered the eighty kilometers to Burgos in time to forestall the Aragonese intention. When Alfonso did approach within thirty kilometers of the city to attempt the relief of his garrison, the queen's forces marched east to meet him and he abandoned the attempt without battle. His forces in the castle of Burgos then agreed that, if he were unable to come to their aid within another fifteen days, they would surrender. This

[8] Enrique Flórez, ed., HC, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:167; J. P. Migne, ed., *PL*, 122 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 163:321-322; J-W, 6350.

[9] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:152-153.

[10] Ibid., pp. 153-154.

[11] Ibid., pp. 154-157. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this portion of the HC is not an eyewitness account, so precise is its detail and so familiar its general tenor. A private document of Sahagún, dated April 23, 1113, AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 9, mentions Count Pedro Ansúrez as holding Carrión that early.

they subsequently did and Burgos was Urraca's. According to the "Historia Compostelana," her husband had lost his last stronghold in Castilla.[12]

Exactly when these events took place is difficult to fix. There is reason to believe that the author of the "Historia Compostelana" both compressed them for dramatic effect and exaggerated the role of the Galician contingent. On June 17, 1113 Urraca made a donation to Vermudo Pérez, son of Count Pedro Froilaz, which was confirmed by her son.[13] It is the first appearance of Alfonso Raimúndez in one of her charters since May of 1112; presumably he traveled from Galicia with that expedition. But the others who confirmed that charter were Leonese, and no one primarily identified with Galicia or with Burgos did. Seven days later, on June 24, Gelmírez preached a sermon in the church of Saint John the Baptist, then just outside Burgos. On July 8 Urraca and Gelmírez executed pledges of mutual assistance and fidelity, which pact is dated after the surrender of the Aragonese garrison. But on August 28 Urraca issued another charter that indicates strongly that she was still in Burgos, for the lands concerned are in the territory of that city and not only does Bishop García confirm it but so do a number of other minor figures identified with Burgos.[14]

The campaign against Burgos and its aftermath, then, seems to have occupied the entire summer and to have ended in a complete success. Indeed, in her charter of August 28 Urraca claimed the rule of Toledo, Castilla, and León. For the moment, her achievement was so complete that Alfonso I made overtures to restore the marriage. This project Gelmírez opposed vehemently and with success. Nevertheless, support for such a reunion of crowns was so strong among the burghers of the city that he was in physical danger for taking such a position.[15]

[12] Flórez, *ES*, 20:157-169.

[13] AC León, Particulares, no. 19.

[14] Published in Berganza, *Antigüedades*, 2:454.

[15] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:163-167.

Having captured Burgos, the queen also felt strong enough to divert some of her forces to relieve the castle of Berlanga, southwest of Soria. That point was under attack by Muslim forces from Zaragoza, whose activity may also explain some of Alfonso of Aragón's apparent weakness during the summer.[16] The Murābits of Córdoba also were extremely active that year in the realm of Toledo, and Alvar Fáñez had all he could do to limit their successes; even so, he lost the castle of Oreja.[17] Still, this ability of the realm, after two years of civil war and near dismemberment, to respond to such a variety of challenges points to the surprising strength and resiliency of its basic structures.

Yet no one could be oblivious to the real damage that had been done. The decision was also made at Burgos to hold a "general council" of the "bishops, abbots, dukes, princes, counts, and magnates" of the realm at Palencia on October 25. The matters to be considered were the restoration of peace, the relations of Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón, and the spoliation of the church. Although Bishop Gelmírez and Archbishop Bernard are credited with this initiative and our source emphasizes the ecclesiastical character of the projected meeting, the Council of Palencia should be perceived as a council of the realm rather than as simply a council of the church. In addition, there seems to have been no inclination to invite Alfonso of Aragón, who was regarded as merely an outsider and a problem.[18]

The general curia held at Palencia in October was to be a very significant event, but its potential for effectiveness was limited from the beginning by the decision of the Raimundist faction of Galicia not to attend. This is curious because Gelmírez is credited with the initial suggestion. It is also far from completely explicable.

Bishop Gelmírez successfully petitioned the queen for

[16] Ibid., p. 168.

[17] Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 1:103-104 and n. 22.

[18] Flórez, *ES*, 20:163.

permission to return to Galicia after the surrender of the citadel at Burgos. A good number of the Galician magnates, however, including the brother of Gelmírez, set off to the relief of Berlanga and returned when they found the Muslim had withdrawn. It is not clear from the account whether Gelmírez waited for them to return before making his departure from Burgos. The homeward journey of the Gallegan expedition is described as hazardous, with the burghers of Carrión and an Astorgan noble disposed to make difficulties for the bishop and his party. This narrative gives subsequent credibility to Bishop Gelmírez when he pleads his inability to journey to Palencia in safety.[19] In fact, none of the bishops or magnates of Galicia appear to have attended that curia except the unfortunate Bishop of Lugo, who may have been a prisoner.

The absence of Gelmírez and his party from Palencia seems rather to have been the result of some rift with the queen or with Archbishop Bernard or both; it is clear that there had been very real tensions during the entire course of the expedition. But the young Alfonso Raimúndez had confirmed Urraca's charter of August 28, given at Burgos. Unless she had taken personal custody of her son, which seems unlikely, Gelmírez too was in Burgos at that late date.

From Burgos, the evidence suggests, Urraca returned to León. On September 7, 1113 a private donation to Bishop Diego of León was confirmed by the queen and by Alfonso Raimúndez.[20] On October 12, 1113 Urraca herself made a donation to Bishop Diego of León, which was again confirmed by the young Alfonso and by Bishop Gelmírez as

[19] Ibid., pp. 169-170 and 172-174. That the kingdom was unsettled is reflected in the documents. A private document of Burgos that bishop García witnessed cited Urraca as ruling Toledo, León, and all Castilla on August 29, 1113. BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 5.790, fol. 70, published in Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v al XIII, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:142-143. On September 6, 1113 a private document of Aguilar de Campoo reads "regnante rex adefonsus de aragona usque in astorga"; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.647, no. 5.

[20] AC León, Particulares, no. 1.379, an original.

well.[21] But if the bishop was at León on October 12, he could hardly have intended to proceed to Galicia and then return to Palencia on the twenty-fifth.

The general curia was held at Palencia on October 25, 1113. Besides the primate and Bishop Pedro of Lugo, who was deposed there, we can be sure only that the queen attended. Our source speaks only of many bishops and abbots. It is likely that its acts, perhaps in a slightly reworked form, are preserved in some twenty-five decrees of Bishop Gelmírez promulgated about this time. If this is so, then the curia at Palencia addressed itself in a very broad fashion to the problems of justice, administration, local trade, and pilgrimage,[22] all of which must have been exacerbated by the events of the past four years.

Of the question of the marriage of Urraca and Alfonso I, nothing appears in the record. Portuguese affairs were treated, however, and the actions taken amounted to a practical declaration of war. Archbishop Maurice of Braga was suspended, his suffragan Pedro of Lugo was deposed and the queen's chaplain, Pedro, chosen to replace him, and Gelmírez was authorized to consecrate him. The see of Mondoñedo was moved to Vallibriense without consulting Maurice as metropolitan. If there had been negotiations with the Infanta Teresa earlier in the year, they had come to nothing and a different, more aggressive policy replaced them.

The change was probably ill advised. Certainly both Archbishop Bernard and the queen had grounds for complaint, and they may have been flushed with success over the results

[21] AC León, 1.005, a possible original, published in Luis Sánchez Belda, "Notas de diplomática: La confirmación de documentos por los reyes del occidente español," *RABM* 59 (1953):85-116 and accompanying plate. There is a donation of Bishop Gelmírez to the Compostelan monastery of San Payo de Antealtares dated October 3, 1113. It is listed in the catalog of the ARG, Particulares, no. 27, as an original but the script employed is Carolingian, which would be most unusual for this date. If it is a copy the dating may be defective. If original, it may have been done at court, which would not have been unusual.

[22] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:175-181.

of the Burgos campaign, but their actions seem premature given the continuing unsettled conditions of the kingdom. It is possible that the adoption of such a policy was the price for the support of Bishop Gelmírez and the Galician party. The bishop of Compostela was about to launch a full-fledged campaign to replace Maurice of Braga as metropolitan of Galicia. Alfonso Enríquez, born about 1109 or 1110,[23] was the potential rival of Alfonso Raimúndez to succeed Urraca herself. The gesture of allowing Gelmírez to pass judgment on the canonical character of the election of the queen's chaplain to Lugo and then to consecrate him was designed both to implicate and to conciliate him. And he, of course, accepted.[24]

Whatever the initiatives, Urraca chose to bid further for Gelmírez's support by holding her Christmas court in Galicia in 1113. On December 8, 1113 she made a donation of a village in the extreme south of Galicia to Pelayo Velásquez. That noble some years later became a supporter of the Infanta Teresa, but just then the queen was securing, or rewarding, his loyalty. The donation was confirmed almost exclusively by Galician magnates, including Count Pedro Froilaz and Bishop Alfonso of Túy.[25]

On December 14, 1113 Count Pedro Froilaz made a donation to Cluny of the Galician monastery of San Martín de Jubia. Those who confirmed were again almost exclusively Galician magnates and members of the cathedral chapter of Compostela, including Bishop Gelmírez. But it was also confirmed by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo.[26] It is just pos-

[23] See the consideration of the date of his birth in Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:240-243.

[24] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:182-184.

[25] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.794, no. 1, an original.

[26] Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:255-257. Charles Julian Bishko, "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration," *SM* 7 (1965):323, sees in the donation the reflection of Cluny's acceptance, at this point, of Urraca's sole rule with Alfonso Raimúndez as the heir. Urraca then begins a series of donations to the great Burgundian abbey and its

sible that a strong party of Galicians had traveled to the court of Urraca, but the probabilities run the other way.

The documentary record for the early part of the year 1114 is very scant. Urraca made a donation to the Castilian monastery of San Isidro de las Dueñas on January 18, 1114.[27] Those who confirmed, in addition to the predictable entourage, were Alvar Fáñez, Fernando Garciaz de Hita, and Fernando Garciaz de Pellica. Their presence suggests concern for the dangerous situation south of the Guadarramas. The first and the last of these also confirm another charter of Urraca, dated February 15, 1114. This diploma was issued at the fortress of Peñafiel on the Duero.[28] Their confirmation again points to the consideration of Toledan affairs.

As events were to demonstrate, there was real cause for concern. In mid-April Alvar Fáñez was killed in or near Segovia.[29] The terse statement of the chronicler gives no particulars, but it seems likely that there was a rising there against Urraca's rule. All the indications also point to Toledo's returning its allegiance to Alfonso of Aragón at this time, perhaps in search of more assistance than had been received the preceding year. Toledo, however, experienced yet another bad year; the city itself came under siege by the Muslim governor of Córdoba and its lands were ravaged in July and August.[30]

Urraca's movements are difficult to trace. She and her son confirmed an exchange of land between Rodrigo Vermúdez and the see of León on April 10, 1114. The list of other confirmants indicates it was executed at court, but it is im-

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dependencies as a substitute for the defaulted annual payment pledged by Alfonso VI. Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien* (Kallmünz, 1974), pp. 86 and 154-155, follows Bishko's interpretation.

[27] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 277v-278r.

[28] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 301-302.

[29] Ambrosio Huici y Miranda, ed., *Las crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1913), 1:345.

[30] González, *Repoblación*, 1:105-106.

possible to tell whether the court was at León.[31] Two charters of Urraca to the Castilian church of Husillos on May 28, 1114 indicate her presence in the Burgos area if they are to be accepted. The list of confirmants indicates a Castilian provenance.[32]

In any event, by the latter part of July she was in Galicia. Urraca's charter of July 23, 1114 to the diocese of Mondoñedo was confirmed by Bishops Muño of Mondoñedo and Pedro of Lugo—the queen's former chaplain—and by Counts Pedro Froilaz, Muño Peláez, Rodrigo Vélaz, Suero Vermúdez, and Guter Vermúdez.[33] This charter provides substantiation of an abortive coup against Bishop Gelmírez described in the "Historia Compostelana," further documented by a private charter of León to which Azevedo first called attention.[34]

Faced with the defection of Segovia and Toledo, Urraca decided in midsummer to consolidate her position in Galicia. The independent policy followed by the bishop of Santiago inhibited her own, and she determined to deprive him of the virtually independent barony that the "honor" of Santiago constituted. To achieve this she enlisted the aid of the con-

[31] AC León, Particulares, no. 1.380; published in Justiano Rodríguez Fernández, "El señorio eclesiástica de Valmadrigal," *AL* 11 (1957): 151-153.

[32] BN, Manuscritos, 705, fols. 19 and 200v-201r. The first preserves the list of confirmants, which must be questioned because one Pascharius appears as bishop of Burgos. It is possible that he confirmed the document later or that it is simply a scribal error. The second document has no list. The overall characteristics of the two convince me that at least they are based on one genuine charter of this date.

[33] July 23, 1114; Instituto Valencia de San Juan, Fondo antiguo de pergaminos, B.A. 2/1, the original; and a copy in Acad. Hist., Colección de Catedrales de España, Mondoñedo, 9-25-1-C-3, fol. 15, published in Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., "El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto Valencia de San Juan," *BRAH* 168 (1971):459-460.

[34] Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:212, cites a private document of the cathedral of León, dated July 26, 1114, that reads "regnante regina domna Urraca cum filio suo donno Adefonso in espanie regno discordia tamen inter eos manente."

firmants of the charter mentioned above, whose own territories lay north and east of the lands of Gelmírez. Count Pedro Froilaz had often been the ally of Gelmírez but this was not the first instance of a breach between them. Bishop Muño had been a canon and, perhaps, a friend; the charter may have been the price of his allegiance to the plot.

According to the "Historia Compostelana," the queen first came to Compostela and made charges against the bishop, against which he successfully defended himself. She then retired south to fisc lands around Salnes and made plans to seize his person by force when he was at Iria Flavia, the port of Compostela and former site of the bishopric. Warned of her intention by a secret message from Count Pedro Froilaz, we are told, Gelmírez returned to Santiago and opened negotiations with his queen. Balked of her purpose for the time, Urraca then swore to respect the bishop's person and his "honor." Similar oaths are recorded for Counts Pedro Froilaz, Muño Peláez, and Rodrigo Vélaz, as well as for Bishop Muño of Mondoñedo.[35]

Despite the failure of the attempt against Gelmírez, perhaps even because of it, the pressure on Portugal continued.

[35] Flórez, *ES*, 20:189-190, 194-197, and 200-202. The text is difficult to follow. The oath of Count Pedro Froilaz is placed first, before comments on and the canons of the Council of León. These are followed by a papal letter, dated by Flórez to 1115 but actually of 1114, and an undated letter of the papal chancellor, John of Gaeta. See Campelo, ed., *Historia Compostelana* trans. Manuel Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), p. 189, n. 3. The story of the conspiracy is then given, beginning "interea," that is, between the papal letter of June 1114, and the Council of León in October 1114. The tale of the plot is followed by one version of Urraca's oath. Next follows an account of Gelmírez's provision for the defense of the coast against Muslim pirates. This relation, at least, is a later insertion in the text. Then come the texts of the comital oaths, another version of Urraca's oath, and that of Bishop Muño. The second version of Urraca's oath is dated "post obitum Regis bonae memoriae Dni. A. in octavo anno ejus mortis facta fuere in Era MCLIII." But given the death of Alfonso VI on June 30, 1109, the eighth year afterward would run from June 30, 1116 to June 29, 1117. Whether this oath is of 1115 or 1116, it probably represents another reconciliation and also another later insertion in the text.

At some point in 1114, probably after the events just recited, Bernard of Toledo forwarded to the bishop of Compostela the bull of Paschal II, dated April 17, 1114, which upheld the primate's suspension of Maurice of Braga. Bernard asked that Bishop Gelmírez publish the suspension to Maurice's suffragans and to the Infanta Teresa.[36]

Conceivably the primate's action may have come after the council held at León on October 18, 1114. There is no evidence of further action taken there against Braga except that bishops and abbots from his province were summoned to it, and Archbishop Maurice himself may have been. A letter of Bernard of Toledo in early 1115, excusing his absence to the abbot of San Tirso in the Oporto diocese, indicates that at least Bishop Hugh of Oporto obeyed the summons.[37]

The bishops of Galicia, who were Braga's suffragans but more frequently were influenced by Gelmírez, did not attend. Instead, they met at Compostela on November 17 with the bishop of Compostela and his faithful assistant, Bishop Hugh of Oporto, and there promulgated the canons of the Council of León. Bishop Gelmírez carried the attack against Braga one step further by appending to the canons a provision by which those present agreed to meet annually in mid-Lent at Compostela for the correction of wrongdoings.[38] It was to be an informal synod of the Braga province under his own presidency.

The canons of the Council of León reflect more emphasis on the affairs of the church proper than did those of Palencia the preceding fall. They were also promulgated by Bernard, in his capacity as Roman legate, for León, Castilla, Portugal, Galicia, the trans-Duero, and Aragón. Indeed, in his summons to the council the primate stated that he had been negotiating with Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón over the peace

[36] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:184–185.

[37] Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal in ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1928), p. 53.

[38] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:191–192.

of the realm but had been unable to secure the agreement of Alfonso.[39]

Another piece of evidence also points to the continuance of negotiations between Urraca and Alfonso. Count Bertran of Risnel, cousin of Alfonso of Aragón, confirmed the charters of Urraca given at Burgos on August 28, 1113 and at Peñafiel on February 15, 1114.[40] But if both Segovia and Toledo had transferred their allegiance to Alfonso I in the spring of 1114, one might well expect that his attitude hardened toward the queen.

Actions taken at the council in León were to create further opportunities for the Aragonese monarch. Bishop García of Burgos died on October 4, just before the council opened. The council proceeded to elect, or recognize, Paschal as bishop there. The disgruntled burghers of Burgos, however, refused to accept his election, resumed their allegiance to Alfonso I, and elected his brother, Ramiro, to the episcopate. At least, some of them did.[41]

It appears likely that the burghers of Sahagún also were summoned before this council. Since the withdrawal of Alfonso I and his brother, Ramiro, in the summer of 1112, continual difficulties had erupted there as the returned abbot tried to reassert his rights. On the appeal of the abbot, Bernard of Toledo had finally leveled an interdict on the district. Now, faced with the summons to what must be a hostile council, the burghers of Sahagún again chose to transfer their allegiance to Alfonso I. The village seems to have passed under his control, and it is likely that the town of Carrión followed the lead of Burgos and Sahagún.[42]

[39] Ibid., pp. 190-191.

[40] See notes 14 and 28. For Count Bertran, see Luis Salazar y Castro, *Historia de la casa de Lara* (Madrid, 1694), p. 101, and José María Lacarra, "Los franceses en la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro en tiempos de Alfonso el Batallador," *CH* 2 (1968):71, n. 15.

[41] Migne, *PL*, 163:380; J-W, 6455. This letter is the chief source for the entire dispute.

[42] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," *BRAH* 76 (1920):406-408. The source speaks of Alfonso's sending "por suçesor de

By the end of 1114 the attempts to capitalize on too many opportunities and on too many fronts had created a very serious situation for the queen's government. Portugal was locked in total opposition.[43] The powerful bishop of Santiago de Compostela was suspicious. Central Castilla and its major towns had reacted to royal policy by turning to Alfonso of Aragón. In addition, Toledo, Segovia, and the trans-Duero had declared for the Aragonese earlier. The gains of the Burgos campaign of the preceding year had vanished, and the queen seemed as close to utter defeat as she had been in the years 1111-1112. Fortunately for Urraca, her former husband lacked the means to capitalize on this situation. Simply as king of Aragón, he had neither the power nor the prestige to consolidate his hold on this awkward and extensive empire beyond the Ebro and the Duero.

Urraca seems to have reacted to these threatening developments by wintering in her stronghold at Palencia in the east and conducting extensive negotiations there. Her charter of October 28, 1114 to the church of Palencia shows her in the company of her son, the bishops of Toledo, León, and Osma, the new bishop-elect of Burgos, and a large number of the secular magnates of the east. Its confirmation also by

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Guillelmo Falcon a Giraldo." Given the source's tendency to skip back and forth in time, I do not believe that it has to be read as an immediate successor.

During this year Alfonso I's claims seem to be muted, perhaps because he was negotiating. His single known diploma, dated April 1114, claims for him only Aragón, Pamplona, Sobarbe, and Ribagorza; published in Durán Gudiol, *Colección de Huesca*, 1:139-140. A private document dated only to 1114, which may reflect the situation at year's end, reads "regnante rege Aldefonso in Toleto et in omni Castella"; published in Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:169-170.

[43] Peter Feige, "Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirche," *GAKS* 29 (1978):142, calls attention to the fact that Teresa of Portugal first used the queenly title in a charter of June 1, 1114. However, the document is a copy and "regina" appears only in the dating formula, not in the body of the text. It is probably a later interpolation.

Count Bertran indicates that negotiations continued with Alfonso I.[44]

On January 3, 1115 Urraca was still at Palencia and was drawing even more of her supporters into these negotiations. On that date she made a donation to the church of Santiago de Compostela of extensive lands from the royal fisc in central Galicia. The charter was issued jointly with her son, whose dignity was emphasized and who confirmed.[45]

Ecclesiastical confirmants were the bishop of Palencia, of course, the bishops of León and Astorga, and the abbot of Sahagún. The presence of the latter three in Palencia was probably testimony to the startling resurgence of the power of the Aragonese king in the north. Similarly, among the secular magnates are Jimeno López and his brother, Pedro López, of Rioja, who now found court more congenial than the family lands and for the same reason. The Pelayo Suárez who confirms may be the noble of the same name frequently identified with the court of Count Henry of Portugal and then of the Infanta Teresa. Given the straits to which the queen was reduced at this time, negotiations with her half sister would have been attractive.

During 1115 the equally vital ecclesiastical affairs of the realm were also developing dangerously for Urraca. Already on December 4, 1114 Pope Paschal II had confirmed the boundaries of the church of Braga to Archbishop Maurice,

[44] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 1.727, fols. 5r-6r. In the text she seems to have emphasized her claims by styling herself "totius hispaniae imperatrix," but we are dealing with a copy. The redaction of the diploma by a canon of Palencia also indicates that the court was in that city. Another of her charters of this period also suggests Palencia as her residence, December 23, 1114. BN, Manuscritos, 13.063, fol. 9.

[45] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fols. 31v-32r, published in Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostolica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:95-96 app. The language of the text reads "una cum filio meo dno. adefonso in regni fastigia iam benedicto et consecrato. . . ."

indicating that the papal suspension had been lifted.[46] Papal opinion was in the process of turning against Archbishop Bernard, Urraca's chief adviser and support.

This trend continued through 1115. In April of that year the pope directed a reconsideration of the double election at Burgos. In July he advised Archbishop Maurice of Braga that he was willing to hear objections to the translation of the see of Mondoñedo to Vallibriense. In August he complained of the overhasty consecration of Bishop Paschal to Burgos. Finally, in November, in a very severe letter that recounted Archbishop Bernard's transgressions in detail, the pope relieved him of his legatine powers over the province of Braga. At the same time he directed the bishop of Coimbra, over which Bernard claimed jurisdiction, to accept the authority of Braga or face suspension.

In distinct contrast to the troubles of the primate and his sovereign, Bishop Gelmírez achieved two successes in August. At that time, one papal letter exempted the diocese of Oporto and his friend and associate, Bishop Hugh, from the authority of Archbishop Maurice of Braga. Another directed the bishop of Coimbra to return disputed territory to Hugh of Oporto under pain of suspension and interdict.

Whether Toledo returned to Urraca's allegiance during this troubled year is uncertain. To be sure, its adherence to Aragón had not spared it from extensive raids in 1114. The only two surviving documents present conflicting evidence. A private donation of Toledo, dated to March 1115, cites Alfonso of Aragón as ruling.[47] But on March 13, 1115 Urraca donated property in Toledo to the cathedral, and her son confirmed the charter. The fact that the bishops of Palencia,

[46] Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 40:351; Migne, *PL*, 163:361-362; J-W, 6414. Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du* VI^e^ *au* XII^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1947), p. 463, believed that Maurice visited Rome in early 1114. This and other ecclesiastical developments will be documented fully in a subsequent chapter on the church in León-Castilla.

[47] AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 99r.

Osma, and Salamanca also confirmed indicates a broad allegiance in the trans-Duero region. The confirmation of Fernando Garciaz de Hita and his brother suggests that the eastern portion of Toledo remained faithful to Urraca.[48]

Regardless of who formally held the reign of Toledo, the year saw brilliant successes for local forces there, a complete reversal of the pattern of the preceding three years. In March a Toledan expedition raided the territory of Córdoba, whose governor, the Emir Mázdali, was defeated and killed. On June 26 another raid defeated and killed his son and successor, Muhammad ben Mázdali. Finally, on November 17 another Christian raid defeated the newest governor of Córdoba.[49]

Meanwhile Urraca was conducting negotiations with Alfonso I in which she seems to have been at a considerable disadvantage. Count Bertran, the cousin of Alfonso, had confirmed her charter of March 13. On April 4, 1115 a private document of Sahagún reads "regnante adefonso rege in aragone et in castella et urraka regina in legione et in gallecia." Though a private donation, it was also confirmed by Archbishop Bernard, Bishop Gelmírez, and Bishops Diego of León and Pedro of Palencia, as well as Counts Pedro Ansúrez, Pedro González, and Froila Díaz. Also notable are the confirmations of no less than six nobles associated with the cause of Alfonso I.[50]

A few weeks later, on April 28, another private document of Sahagún records an actual meeting of the rivals: "regnante rege adefonso aragonese in castella et urraka regina in legione qui cf." It was also confirmed by five of the most important lay members of Urraca's court, by Archbishop

[48] AHN, Códices, 987B, fols. 9v-10r.

[49] González, *Repoblación*, 1:106-107.

[50] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 12. Bishop Gelmírez must have departed almost immediately thereafter for Galicia. On April 15, 1115 he made a donation to the Galician monastery of San Martín Pinario whose purely local confirmants suggest that it was issued in Compostela; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:102-103 app.

Bernard, and by the bishops of León, Astorga, and Salamanca.[51] The subjects of these negotiations are unknown, but they seem to have come to nothing.

Subsequent to this meeting the abbot of Sahagún was forced by circumstances to come to terms with the Aragonese monarch. Alfonso came again to Sahagún and placed his cousin, Count Bertran, in command.[52] The defection of the abbot of the monastery that was at once the pantheon of the royal family and the center of extensive fisc lands threatened Urraca profoundly. Nevertheless, it remained to be seen whether her husband could maintain his control so far west. Moreover, the disasters affecting the Murābits in the environs of Córdoba itself were bound to suggest to the Batallador the growing vulnerability of Zaragoza and the desirability of concentrating his forces against it.

Urraca was still not totally without resources in Castilla, as a charter of hers, dated May 22, 1115, bestowing land there on a supporter indicates. The list of confirmants also establishes that there had been no other serious defections from her court, and the presence of Fernando Garciaz de Hita and his brother is particularly important evidence of her continuing support in the Toledan territories.[53]

Even so, a charter of the loyal Count Pedro Ansúrez, dated April 16, 1115, claims only the rule of León and Galicia for her.[54] Another charter of the count, dated June 27, 1115, claims Castilla and the trans-Duero as well, so that her position may have improved marginally by then.[55] Certainly Alfonso I did not share that perception. In his charter of August 1115, he

[51] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 13; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 510-512.

[52] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):419 and 512-513.

[53] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 275v-276v.

[54] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.740, no. 11.

[55] Manuel Mañueco-Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid* (Valladolid, 1917), 1:106-107.

used the imperial title and claimed the rule of both Toledo and Castilla.[56]

The queen, however, ultimately proved herself able to outmaneuver her former husband in ecclesiastical matters. Sometime in late spring or early summer she had secured the consecration of Bishop Paschal to Burgos. Both king and pope would complain, but eventually both had to accept that determination.

In the fall, a private document of Astorga, dated October 15, 1115, records a new initiative. It cites Urraca as ruling in Castilla as well as León and Galicia, and the list of confirmants indicates the meeting of a general curia or council of the realm. The primate and at least the bishops of Astorga, Compostela, León, Oviedo, and Salamanca were there. So were the Infantas Sancha and Elvira, the queen's half sisters.[57] It is likely that this council authorized the journey of the abbot of Sahagún to Rome in order to bring papal authority to bear on the recalcitrant burghers of that village. The abbot subsequently met with Alfonso of Aragón before

[56] AHN, Clero, carp. 800, no. 6; published in José María Lacarra, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 5 (1952):526-527.

[57] AHN, Códices, 1.195B, fols. 52 and 53. The first of these copies also lists as confirmants Archbishop Maurice of Braga and Bishop Pedro of Palencia. The diplomatic of the second is more regular, but the presence of the prelate of Braga would indicate some greater willingness of Urraca and Bernard to compose their quarrel with Portugal in response to the support the latter had gained at Rome.

In 1115 a general council of the realm is also supposed to have been held in Oviedo; BN, Manuscritos, 1.513, fols. 110r-113v; published in Risco, *ES*, 38:266-274. The text consists of three canons generally concerned with public order and justice and an absolutely fantastic list of confirmants including bishops from the as yet unrestored sees of Ávila, Segovia, and Sigüenza. Franciso Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971), pp. 39-41, demonstrates that the document cannot possibly be accepted for what it purports to be. Nevertheless, there has been considerable reluctance to abandon the idea of a general council held then. Most recently it is accepted by Feige, "Die Anfänge," pp. 141-142, and by Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador* (León, 1979), pp. 57-58, n. 28.

proceeding to Rome, and the king granted him a safe-conduct.[58] Nevertheless, although he could not openly oppose the abbot's intention to appeal to Rome, the success of such an action was bound to undermine the king's position at Sahagún, which had always depended on the support of the townsmen for his garrison.

Meanwhile Urraca again moved south into the troubled trans-Duero region. On November 26, 1115 in the vicinity of Segovia she made yet another donation of lands to the church of Santiago. Like the charter of January 3, the donation was made jointly with Alfonso Raimúndez and emphasized his dignity. It was also confirmed by the Infantas Sancha and Elvira.[59]

By the year's end Urraca seems to have recovered enough support to celebrate her Christmas court at León. A charter of Bishop Diego of León, dated January 8, 1116, is confirmed by the queen, her son and daughter, her two half sisters, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, and the bishops of Compostela, Astorga, Oviedo, Palencia, and Salamanca.[60] She continued to buy support in Castilla. On January 20, 1116 she made a donation of lands to the monastery of San Isidro de las Dueñas, also confirmed by her son, her half sister Sancha, Archbishop Bernard, and the bishops of Palencia and Burgos.[61] She seems to have been making a demonstration

[58] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):517.

[59] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 31v, published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:104–105 app. She had apparently swung west to Astorga first. A private document of that church, dated November 6, 1115, was confirmed by her. The confirmation may not be contemporary, however; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fols. 26v–27r.

[60] AC León, Tumbo, fols. 100r–101v; and Acad. Hist., Catedrales, 9-25-1-C-4, fols. 84r–88v; published in Risco, *ES*, 36:100–103.

[61] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 278r–279r; and Acad. Hist., Colección Velázquez, 4, no. 1.397. Another donation to San Isidro, dated only to 1116, may have been made about this time. It is cited in Gregorio de Argáiz, *La soledad laureada por San Benito y sus hijos en las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1675), 4:204v.

A private document dated February 15, 1116 cites Urraca as ruling in León, Toledo, and Castilla but there is a discrepancy in the dating formula: Jusué, *Santillana del Mar*, pp. 92–93.

in the east at this time, for on February 9, 1116 she made a donation to the church of Palencia, in which she was surrounded by a great concourse of her followers from both the east and west of her realm.[62]

Urraca also felt strong enough to take measures in early 1116 to strengthen her position in the west. A charter of hers that survives only as a notice in a later confirmation, to the Galician monastery of San Juan de Poyo, is dated February 29, 1116.[63] Another charter to the same monastery, dated March 31, 1116, was confirmed solely by local figures, placing her securely in Galicia.[64]

The distribution of largesse was a small part of her activity, however. The "Historia Compostelana" tells of an expedition south to the Limia against one Menendo Nuñez, who had rebelled against her and was ravaging that district.[65] Nuñez was a border figure who had appeared in the documents of Count Henry and confirmed three of Urraca's charters and some eight of the Infanta Teresa. Her purpose accomplished, the queen once again moved to seize the person of Bishop Gelmírez and deprive him of his "honor," but again the plan miscarried because Count Pedro Froilaz warned the bishop.

Nevertheless, once again the queen and her fractious bishop worked out a pact of alliance to be guaranteed by her supporters not only in Galicia but also in León and Castilla. Urraca then returned to León by way of Lugo but never supplied the necessary oath-helpers, whereupon Bishop Gel-

[62] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 1.729, fols. 34r-35r.

[63] See Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Documentos reales de la edad media referentes a Galicia* (Madrid, 1953), pp. 94-95.

[64] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.857, no. 13; BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 226; and Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar y Castro, O-16, fol. 250.

[65] Flórez, *ES*, 20:204. Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, p. 199, n. 1, confuses this trip to Galicia with one later in the spring by identifying a reference to a charter in the text with the charter of May 18, 1116. If he is correct in his identification, then the confusion over the time of the donation rests with the original author.

mírez notified her that he considered the pact void.[66] The royal confirmation of a private document of León, dated April 24, 1116, indicates the queen's presence there.[67]

At this time Count Pedro Froilaz and her son were campaigning in the trans-Duero and Toledo regions, surely at the request of Urraca.[68] When they learned of the attempted coup against Gelmírez and the subsequent failure of his pact with the queen, they opened negotiations with the bishop and returned in open rebellion to Galicia, where the prelate received them.[69] Upon hearing of these developments the queen hastily marched for Galicia by way of the pilgrim road through Triacastela and Mellid, gaining important support as she went. The count and her son had fortified Compostela, but with the citizens ready to rise against the bishop and the unexpected support gained by Urraca, they evacuated the city and she occupied it.

A new, hasty alliance was now arranged between Urraca and Bishop Gelmírez.[70] It is impossible to date these events precisely, but the alliance is probably to be associated with the charter granted by the queen to the bishop of Compostela on May 18, 1116, which was confirmed by the bishops of Mondoñedo, Túy, and Orense, and by Counts Rodrigo Vélaz, Muño Peláez, and Pedro Froilaz.[71] The confirmation of Froilaz indicates that he was drawn into the negotia-

[66] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:204-208.

[67] AC León, Tumbo, fol. 103.

[68] The HC, *ES*, 20:208, puts it: "puerum commorantem in Extremitatem Comes P. Froylaz." A private document of Burgos dated May 8, 1116 states: "regnante eo tempore Adefonso aragonensium rege in regno suo en Nazara atque Burgis regina vero Urraca in legione atque galicia et infans eius filius apud toletum et extrematuram"; Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:145-146, who would redate the document to 1118.

[69] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:208-211.

[70] Ibid., pp. 211-215.

[71] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 32r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:106 app. The dating is further complicated by a donation of Urraca to the Castilian monastery of Oña, dated May 19, 1116, confirmed by Castilian figures only; AHN, Clero, carp. 272, no. 15, a copy; published in Alamo, *Colección de Oña*, 1:172-173.

tions but, as events would soon indicate, not placated by them.

Urraca now undertook another campaign in the south of Galicia against one Gomez Nuñez. A noble of that name had confirmed six charters of Count Henry, appearing as his majordomo in that of April 12, 1112.[72] More recently, as "count," he had confirmed Urraca's charter of November 26, 1115.[73] His territories around the town of Túy controlled the best access to Galicia from Portugal. In the south the queen was surprised and briefly besieged in the castle of Sobroso by the combined forces of the Infanta Teresa and Count Pedro Froilaz. She had to retreat to Compostela and from there returned to León.[74]

Although she certainly had not achieved everything that she wished, in three months of campaigning Urraca had made substantial headway in Galicia. Twice she had demonstrated her superior strength in that region to the potential adherents of her son. Twice she had penetrated to and campaigned on the Portuguese border. If the second of these ventures had drawn a counterstroke by the Infanta Teresa, a serious invasion of the Portuguese border in the south by the Murābits in early July would have kept her half sister occupied there rather than in the north.[75] She had played off her opponents in Galicia one against the other. Behind her she left Bishop Gelmírez at odds with Count Pedro Froilaz and chastened by the unexpected rise to power in his episcopal city of a hermandad of its citizens, which reduced the doughty bishop to effective dependence on her.[76]

Back in León, the queen enlisted the support of the new

[72] Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:40-41. See also Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:107; Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 234-235, and Bishko, "Cluniac Priories," pp. 327-329.

[73] See note 59.

[74] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:216-217.

[75] David, *Études*, pp. 302 and 308.

[76] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:217-221.

order of the Hospitalers in the border province of Zamora. On June 3, 1116 she granted them at least one charter.[77] Two weeks later, on June 17, 1116, she made a donation to the see of León which was confirmed by Alfonso Raimúndez, her half sister Sancha, and most of the regular members of her curia.[78] The following day she confirmed a donation of Bishop Diego of León prepared by her own notary.[79] By July 5, 1116 she seems to have been in Castilla, where she made a donation to the monastery of Oña confirmed by purely Castilian figures.[80]

While the Leonese monarch had been busy in the west, Alfonso of Aragón seems to have concentrated on consolidating his rule in Aragón, Rioja, and eastern Castilla. A charter of January 1116 places him at Fitero on the Río Pisuerga, which was as far west as he ventured.[81] In February 1116 another puts him in Villamayor near Nájera in Rioja.[82] In both of these he claims the rule of Castilla and Toledo, and the second cites his brother as bishop of Burgos. Two charters of March 1116 were granted in Astorito near Huesca in Aragón[83] and at Montearagón farther to the north.[84] In

[77] BN, Manuscritos, 714, fol. 138r; and Acad. Hist., Colección del Conde de Mora, 9-6-4-0-3, p. 225; notices with confirmants. Notice of another charter, dated only to 1116, is to be found in Jean Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1110-1310* (Paris, 1894), 1:34.

[78] AC León, no. 1.006, Tumbo, fols. 95v-96r; and Acad. Hist., Catedrales, 9-25-1-C-4, fols. 89r-90r.

[79] June 18, 1116; AC León, Particulares, no. 1.381.

[80] AHN, Clero, carp. 272, nos. 16 and 17; Códices, 16B, p. 12; published in Alamo, *Colección de Oña*, 1:173-175.

[81] Acad. Hist., Manuscritos, Cartulario de Alaon, 9-25-4-C-67, fol. 76r. Now, Itero del Castilla.

[82] Published in Amancio Rodríguez López, *El real monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos y el hospital del Rey*, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1907), 2:239-330. See also Pascual Galindo Romeo, "Un documento de Alfonso I de Aragón en la cancillería real castellana," *Homenaje a Don Augustín Millares Carlo* (Grand Canary, 1975), 2:129-142.

[83] Durán Gudiol, *Colección de Huesca*, 1:145-147.

[84] Lacarra, "Documentos de la reconquista," *EEMCA* 5 (1952):528.

April he was northeast of Burgos at Cerezo[85] and also in Nájera.[86] In both of these charters, too, he claimed Castilla and Toledo. In May he was at Biel[87] in Aragón and in July at Pancorbo[88] in eastern Castilla making the same claim.

On August 6, 1116 he gave fueros to Belorado, on the border of Castilla and Rioja, in which he claimed the rule of Carrión, Sahagún, and Toledo.[89] Finally, sometime in August 1116 at the castle of Haro in Rioja he issued yet another charter "quando Didacus Lopez erat in guerra cum rege iam dicto Adefonso."[90]

Revolt in Rioja was by then not the only problem the Aragonese king had to face. In Rome Pope Paschal II not surprisingly had taken the side of the abbot of Sahagún against the burghers. On March 21 and 22 of 1116, he issued three letters to that effect.[91] At the request of the burghers, who anticipated the papal decision, Alfonso had the abbot and his party intercepted at Estella in Vizcaya and held them prisoners for five weeks. He was finally convinced, however, of the impossibility of achieving his aims in that fashion and released the abbot unconditionally.[92]

Continuing on to Sahagún, the abbot was able to use his papal support to overawe the townsmen, at least initially,

[85] Ibid., p. 529.

[86] AHN, Códices, 105B, fol. 115; published in Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, vol. 2, *Documentos, 923-1168* (Logroño, 1976), pp. 108-109.

[87] Lacarra, "Documentos de la reconquista," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):513-514.

[88] Ibid., p. 514.

[89] Published in Juan Antonio Llorente, ed., *Noticias históricas de las tres provincias vascongadas, Alava, Guipúzcoa, y Vizcaya*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1806-08), 4:19-21, and Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 410-412.

[90] Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán*, pp. 302-303.

[91] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):518-519 and 77 (1921):53. AHN, Códices, 988B, fol. 5v; published in Luis Fernández, "Villafrades de Campos: Señorio del abad de Sahagún," *AL* 27 (1973):252-253.

[92] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 77 (1921):51-52.

and they accepted both his jurisdiction as abbot and the rule of Urraca, who reentered the town. But the reconciliation soon foundered on the questions of the restoration of the monastery's property and of the charter of the town. The chronology of "Las crónicas anónimas" is not entirely clear, but apparently in August Urraca drew a siege line around Sahagún. Since Alfonso I had lost both the town and castle of Burgos, we are told, the chance of aid was slight.

Nevertheless, the Aragonese monarch still had a garrison in Carrión, only thirty-five kilometers distant, and plans were made to betray the village to the Aragonese in September. But the plot was betrayed and the attempt failed on the night of September 29. Urraca then seized those involved and expelled them from the town.[93] Her control there was once again complete and Burgos, too, was in her hands.

By the fall of 1116 negotiations of the most important sort were also in train between the queen and the supporters of her son, now eleven years old. These are described in the "Historia Compostelana," whose author, as usual, exalts the role of Bishop Gelmírez in the process and may also have misstated the terms somewhat. As described, however, the agreement then struck was to last for three years. It provided for the de facto division between them of authority in the realm and gave assurances of mutual aid and cooperation. The portions of the kingdom that each was to rule are not specified, except that Galicia is said to be a portion of Alfonso Raimúndez.[94]

The "Historia Compostelana" identifies the supporters of the young king as Bishop Gelmírez and members and relations of the house of Pedro Froilaz, those of the queen as Count Pedro González of Lara and the powerful Galician counts Muño Peláez and Suero Vermúdez.[95] It also identifies Sahagún as the place in which a general curia of the realm worked out the terms. The bishops of León, Astorga,

[93] Ibid., pp. 53-59 and 151-155.
[94] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:221-226.
[95] Ibid., p. 225.

Oviedo, Mondoñedo, and Granada are said to have attended.[96] Without doubt this is the curia at which, on October 15, 1116, Urraca issued a grant of minting privileges to Sahagún. Confirmants to the charter include the two Infantas Sancha—Urraca's half sister and daughter—Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, and the bishops of Compostela, León, Astorga, Oviedo, Palencia, and Burgos.[97]

It seems most doubtful, given the situation as we know it, that Urraca need have agreed to recognize her son's authority in Galicia. The depth of her own support there had been demonstrated time and time again. In the past year she had managed to divide her usual opponents, Count Pedro Froilaz and Bishop Gelmírez. The bishop of Santiago de Compostela, moreover, had suffered a revolt in his own episcopal city that reduced his authority to the merely nominal. He was forced to bid against the insurgents for the support of Urraca, a circumstance that must have been delightful to the queen, who had so often been in desperate need of his assistance.[98] Other than her own son, the only effective center of opposition to her rule in Galicia at this time was Teresa of Portugal. It would have been foolhardy to reinforce the faltering party opposed to her direct rule there by formally recognizing her son's rights in that province.

We have merely the testimony of the "Historia Compostelana" that she did so, and the testimony of that source is sometimes skewed by its clear preference for her son. On the other hand, of the seventeen known charters that Alfonso Raimúndez issued in the next ten years, of the six that are concerned with Galicia only one genuine diploma falls within the period 1116-1122. Even if Urraca did, perhaps, recognize her son's formal rights in the province of the northwest, she fully intended to rule there directly, as subsequent events make

[96] Ibid. The presence of a bishop of Granada is inexplicable and there is no other contemporary evidence for a Christian bishopric there.

[97] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 16; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 512-513.

[98] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:217-224.

clear. Indeed, that is the entire point of her policy as it was developing at that time.

On the other hand, that she granted to her heir the titular rule of the trans-Duero and Toledo is fully documented. This move was to redound to her benefit, as she doubtlessly foresaw. Her own position there was tenuous at best in 1116, and any gains made by her son would be essentially at the expense of Alfonso of Aragón.[99] Her son had at least been paraded through those territories in the spring, and the boy had a natural appeal for the opponents of Alfonso of Aragón. The imperial title linked to the old city of Toledo had, even more than the royal dignity, essentially masculine connotations, and so Alfonso Raimúndez had a particular claim that his mother lacked. Finally, any gains made by his party would be consolidated by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who now begins to emerge as the mentor of the eleven-year-old boy king. That situation could only aid Urraca, whose unswervingly faithful adviser the primate remained until his death in 1125.

Indeed, perhaps the greatest advantage of this agreement was that it largely severed the connection between the young heir and the old particularist party of Galicia. He ceased to be the ward of the count of Traba and the bishop of Compostela and was elevated to a much grander destiny than any that they could offer him.[100] His absence from Galicia and the formation around him of a new and more cosmopolitan court with which he would increasingly identify his possibilities sapped the vital legitimacy of Gallegan opposition to Urraca.

The new dignity and direction of Alfonso Raimúndez are signalized by the issuance of his first known diploma on November 27, 1116. It was granted far to the south of Villaba-

[99] Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador*, p. 62, appreciates this aspect of the policy although in general he badly underestimates the strength of Urraca.

[100] After 1116 Count Pedro confirmed but four of the heir's documents and Gelmírez confirmed only three.

ñez on the Duero in the lands of Urraca's loyal servant, Count Pedro Ansúrez. The latter confirmed, as did Alfonso's sister, the Infanta Sancha, and the bishops of Toledo, Palencia, and Salamanca; no Galicians appear in his entourage.[101]

One reaction to Urraca's new, more formalized recognition of Alfonso Raimúndez as her coruler and heir appeared almost immediately in the far west of the peninsula. Up to this time Urraca's half sister Teresa had been content to style herself "Infanta." The first evidence that she had perhaps begun to employ the queenly title is a letter of Paschal II of June 18, 1116, addressed in part to "T reginae."[102] The beginning of Teresa's own regular use of that title, however, dates to an original charter of May 1117.[103] It is clear that Teresa was moving to improve her position and that of her son, Alfonso Enríquez, rendered anomalous in this new state of affairs. She did not, however, call herself queen of Portugal until November 1117.[104]

The movement toward an independent realm of Portugal, then, appears to have begun as a reaction by the Portuguese infanta to the loss of any real hope of securing the crown of León-Castilla for herself or her son. There was, too, a real Portuguese particularism or provincialism that could be built upon. Moreover, it may fairly be said that Count Henry had worked to strengthen his own power within the county and to minimize that of the crown. Finally, from 1109 to 1116

[101] Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 37-38.

[102] Published in Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttingen.* Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 169-70; J-W, 6527.

[103] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:59-60. In the dating formula of a charter of June 1, 1114 she is cited "imperante Portugalis regine Tarasie," but she neither is so titled in the text itself nor does she confirm as queen. A copy, the document may have been interpolated. For a careful survey of the documentary evidence for a developing claim to royal status, see Feige, "Die Anfänge," pp. 163-165.

[104] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:60-62.

Portugal enjoyed effective independence as a result of the troubles that beset Urraca. But all these factors could become fully operative only under the direction of a member of the dynasty itself, and until 1116 the lure of possible accession to the greater dignity inhibited the development of a policy to create a more circumscribed one. Even after 1116, movement toward creation of a separate realm was tentative and largely a continuing reaction to failures in the wider arena.

Meanwhile, as winter came in 1116, Uracca had once again reclaimed most of Castilla from Alfonso of Aragón. She had consolidated her position in Galicia. She had also temporarily diverted southward the energies of her son's supporters in such a way that the trans-Duero and Toledo regions might be strengthened by an influx of new warriors. At last she might be free to move to reduce the virtual independence of Teresa in Portugal or at least to restrict the area of her authority. This last depended on the possibility of achieving some sort of understanding with her former husband that would end or suspend the strife in Castilla.

Fortunately for Urraca's purposes, Alfonso I was beginning to conceive the project of the conquest of Zaragoza. To free his hand to that end he was willing to negotiate. For Urraca, entering upon such a policy meant breaking with an older one of her father, which envisioned the great city on the Ebro as the eventual prize of León-Castilla. But if the Aragonese ruler failed to take and hold Zaragoza, Urraca lost nothing and would gain a considerable respite for Castilla and her other purposes. If he succeeded, she and León-Castilla would face a far more formidable Aragón. Surely it must have been with mixed feelings that she began negotiations, probably in November and December of 1116.

FOUR

TRUCE WITH ARAGÓN AND THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE WEST AND SOUTH (1117-1120)

URRACA and Alfonso were not alone in their desire to find grounds for a peace or truce in 1116. At Rome Pope Paschal II had been trying since the beginning of his pontificate to adjudicate the welter of conflicting claims and evidence supplied to him by the various parties in the Iberian church. As the Christian principalities of the north uncovered their layered past through the Reconquista, the appeal to historical precedent had become a weapon to advance the various ecclesiastical and political necessities and desires of the present. Braga, Burgos, Compostela, León, and Oviedo had all tried to enlist the enhanced prestige and authority of Rome for their own purposes.

Of late, Paschal had experienced growing doubts about the continuing usefulness of the union of the primateship and the papal legatine authority in the see of Toledo. Archbishop Bernard was too clearly a party to virtually all the disputes in the peninsula. Toward the end of 1115 the latter had been deprived of legatine power over the province of Braga, but that had not ended the disputes over Coimbra's proper metropolitan or the territorial limits of Braga's suffragan Astorga and Toledo's suffragan Salamanca. Increasingly, Gelmírez sought metropolitan status for Compostela at the expense of Braga while Burgos, León, and Oviedo all guarded jealously their exemption from any metropolitan jurisdiction.

Papal attempts to bring the principals, or some of them, to Rome were easily frustrated by the hazardous conditions of travel in the peninsula. The latest summons to the prelates

and abbots of Spain to attend a general council at the Lateran in mid-Lent of 1116 had produced the usual disappointing result.[1] Only the bishop of Oporto and the abbot of Sahagún are known to have attended, and each had very particular causes to advance. The decision to send a papal legate to the peninsula was probably determined in that forum.

The choice fell on Cardinal Boso of St. Anastasia, who had had some previous experience with peninsular affairs. In the spring of 1116 he was already in the south of France presiding at the installation of Oleguer as bishop of Barcelona.[2] Exactly when he reached Aragón and León-Castilla is not clear from the documents. "Las crónicas anónimas" speaks of his purpose to effect peace between Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón and of his itinerary from Burgos through Palencia and León, then on to Compostela and Braga, and, finally, of his return to Burgos and the council held there.[3] Such a journey was likely to have occupied December 1116, and January 1117.

Meanwhile many of the principals may have been converging on the region of the prospective council. On January 22, 1117 Urraca issued a charter at Alesón, near Nájera in Rioja, to the monastery of Santa María de Nájera. She had not been so far east since 1110. The charter was issued jointly with her son and was confirmed by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo and the bishops of Burgos, Palencia, León, Oviedo, and Astorga, as well as by Counts Pedro Ansúrez and Pedro González and a large number of local figures.[4] In February

[1] Enrique Flórez, ed., HC, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:203; J. P. Migne, ed., *PL*, 122 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 163:385; J-W, 6462.

[2] Gerhard Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des* XII *Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 36-37.

[3] Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., *BRAH* 77 (1920):155-156.

[4] AHN, Sección de Códices, 105B, fols. 117v-118r; published in Fidel Fita, "Primer siglo de Santa María de Nájera," *BRAH* 26 (1895):265-266; Julián Cantera Orive, "Un cartulario de Santa María la Real de Nájera del año 1209," *Berceo* 14 (1959):492-493; and Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, vol. 2, *Documentos, 923-1168* (Logroño, 1976), pp. 109-110. Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Alava medieval*, 2

of 1117 the same possessions were donated to that monastery by Alfonso of Aragón, calling himself emperor and claiming the rule of Toledo, León, and Castilla. His charter was confirmed by the bishops of Huesca, Pamplona, and Roda.[5] This charter largely follows the norms of the Leonese chancery rather than those of Aragón, and it is late for Alfonso to claim the rule of León, so that I am most suspicious of it. Still, it may reflect a maximum bargaining position taken by Alfonso on the eve of the council.

By February 15, 1117 Queen Urraca may have been in Burgos, where she granted a charter to a local figure, confirmed by the bishop of Burgos.[6] "Las crónicas anónimas," however, places the queen in Palencia the day before the opening of the council.[7] We do not know exactly how long the council lasted or exactly when it began. A letter of Cardinal Boso to Pope Paschal reporting the finding that Coimbra was suffragan to Mérida, not Braga, is dated February 18, 1117.[8] The canons of the council, issued with the concurrence of Cardinal Boso, Archbishop Bernard, and the

vols. (Vitoria, 1974), 1:100, characterizes this charter as false but adduces no real reasons for doing so. A notice of a charter of Urraca suggests that she was in the vicinity of León as late as January 13, 1117. AHN, Cornejos legajo 16.022, 4-2, fol. 1.

[5] AHN, Códices, 105B, fols. 118r-119r; published in Fita, "Primer siglo," pp. 266-268; Cantera Orive, "Cartulario de Nájera," pp. 497-498; and Rodríguez de Lama, *Colección de Rioja*, 2:111-112. Among a large number of Aragonese, Count Pedro of Lara, Count Suarius Vermúdez, and Diego López also confirm the charter. If the charter is to be accepted, the presence of these supporters of Urraca would be a further proof that negotiations were in progress. Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador* (León, 1979), p. 63 and n. 50, sees their presence as evidence of their desertion of the queen. However, he is oblivious of most of the additional evidence, which will not support such an assumption.

[6] Published in Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:146-147.

[7] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 77 (1920):156 and 160.

[8] Published in Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 171-172.

bishops of Palencia, León, Oviedo, Oporto, Coimbra, Salamanca, Mondoñedo, Burgos, and Barcelona, bear the same date.[9] These are concerned almost exclusively with ecclesiastical discipline but they do forbid consanguineous marriage. Another document of an agreement between the bishops of Oporto and Coimbra over the limits of their respective dioceses, confirmed by Cardinal Boso, Archbishop Bernard, and the bishops of Barcelona, Palencia, Oporto, Burgos, and Salamanca, is dated February 24, 1117.[10] Finally, there is another letter of Cardinal Boso to Bishop Pedro of Palencia confirming the cession to that church by Pedro Ansúrez of the church of Valladolid and its possessions. It is dated only to 1117 but was given at Burgos.[11]

Seen in the light of these documents, the council wears the aspect of a purely ecclesiastical council of the realm of León-Castilla. The absence of the bishops of Aragón is marked. Neither Urraca nor Alfonso of Aragón can be demonstrated to have attended. Yet it seems quite clear that Count Bertran, Alfonso's cousin, had conferred with Urraca on the matter of the exile of the burghers of Sahagún. The council made him, together with Bishops Hugh of Oporto and Paschal of Burgos, responsible for the satisfaction to be made by the burghers to the abbot of Sahagún and for their return to their homes.[12] Such an agreement implies the Aragonese monarch's acceptance of Paschal as legitimate bishop of Burgos. It implies also Urraca's acceptance of Count Bertran as an acceptable guardian of Aragonese interests in Castilla and his control of Carrión.

How far their agreement may have extended is impossible to say, and it was to be misconstrued by each party in the future. Neither was willing to surrender outright its claims to either Castilla or Toledo. But it is probable that Alfonso

[9] Published in Fidel Fita, "Concilio nacional de Burgos (18 febrero 1117)," *BRAH* 48 (1906):394-399.

[10] Published in part in Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 172-173.

[11] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, rollo 1.728; AC Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, fol. 22.

[12] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 77 (1920):160-161.

accepted the recent rebel, Diego López of Haro, as guardian of Leonese interests in Vizcaya and Rioja at this time,[13] and the understanding may have extended to other contested border districts as well.

For the moment, however, their interests bore them in different directions. In March 1117 Alfonso I was at the castle of Sieso in the province of Huesca,[14] and by early July he was reconnoitering the approaches to Zaragoza in the company of Viscount Gaston of Béarn.[15]

Urraca by March 1, 1117 was probably in León, where she granted a charter to the church of Mondoñedo confirmed by the bishops of Compostela, León, Lugo, Palencia, and Orense, and a great list of the secular magnates of her court, including Count Pedro Froilaz.[16] She was surely there on March 12, when she confirmed a private donation to the church of León.[17] I suspect that she was still in León on May 29, 1117, when she confirmed an exchange of property between Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and Count Suero Vermúdez.[18] Two days later, when she confirmed a donation of Bishop Pelayo of Astorga, Urraca may have been on her way to Galicia.[19]

[13] Gregorio Monreal, "El señorio de Vizcaya," *AHDE* 44 (1973):130.

[14] AHN, Códices, 595B, fols. 72v-73r; published in "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):482.

[15] José María Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), p. 62.

[16] AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 1.185, no. 6, an original but almost totally illegible, and no. 7; BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 9.194, fols. 147v and 197v, both copies dated to February 25, 1067; published in Flórez, *ES*, 18:342-344. A second donation to the same church on the following day was confirmed by a much reduced list of dignitaries. There is a notice of a second charter to Mondoñedo confirmed only by four bishops of Galicia. April 10, 1117. BN, Manuscritos, 5.928, fol. 46v.

[17] AC León, Tumbo, fols. 259v-260r.

[18] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.595, no. 3, published in Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 355-357.

[19] Published in Flórez, *ES*, 16:474-476, and in Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense* (Astorga, 1907), 2:539-541.

When she arrived there in the late spring, the queen seems first to have turned her attention to campaigning in the south of Galicia, long contested with the Infanta Teresa.[20] Then she moved north to Compostela, where she was planning to effect some sort of settlement between Bishop Gelmírez and the town's *concejo*, which had been ruling virtually to the exclusion of that prelate for the past year. Some of the townsmen suspected that the arrangements envisioned would be dangerous to themselves, and a spectacular series of events followed.

While Urraca and Gelmírez were conferring in the episcopal palace the townspeople suddenly rose in rebellion, and the pair were forced to take refuge in a new tower being built for the cathedral. The rebels then fired the tower and Urraca was forced to emerge, whereupon, in one of the most extraordinary of scenes, she was stripped and pelted with stones before being rescued by calmer heads. After extracting from the queen promises of forgiveness and concessions that probably even they knew would be worthless, the rebels allowed her to leave the city because no other course was practical. Awaiting her were the forces of Count Pedro Froilaz and her son; they were soon joined by Gelmírez, who had effected his own escape from the town. Overawed by the forces arrayed against them, the burghers capitulated quickly. Considering the gravity of their offense, the penalties assessed were relatively moderate. Episcopal government was restored. The leading rebels were exiled from the city, their property confiscated, and a substantial indemnity levied against the townsmen.[21] In Compostela as at Sahagún, Urraca found popular regimes too volatile to be relied upon, but otherwise her extreme humiliation finds scarcely an echo in her vigorous policy.

How long all this had taken we are not told, but it prob-

[20] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:226-227.

[21] Ibid., pp. 227-249. The author of the HC follows this account with that of the royal expedition of 1118 into the trans-Duero region as though it immediately followed the other.

ably occupied the month of June. On July 4, 1117, probably near León, Urraca issued a charter to San Isidro de las Dueñas confirmed by her son, the primate, and the bishops of Palencia, León, Burgos, Salamanca, and Osma.[22]

Although the campaign against Portugal seems not to have been continued directly this summer, Teresa was fully occupied in the south. In late June and early July the Murābit leader Ali ben Yusuf, who had come from Morocco, laid siege to Coimbra for three weeks.[23] Those circumstances allowed Urraca to consolidate, perhaps even to extend, her authority over Toro and Zamora on the western reaches of the Duero toward the present Portuguese border. A document of Sahagún of August 13, 1117 cites "fernando melendiz in tauro et in camorus mandante."[24] I take the latter to be the Fernando Menéndez who confirmed Urraca's charter of October 15, 1116.[25]

Still in León on September 6, 1117, Urraca made a joint donation to the church of San Isidoro with her daughter, Sancha, confirmed by the bishops of Astorga and Compostela.[26] For the remainder of the year there are no notices of the queen that allow us to establish her whereabouts.

The major fruit of the truce arranged at Burgos earlier in

[22] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 276v-277v; Acad. Hist., Colección Velásquez, 4, no. 1.395. These notices with confirmant list are dated to 1112, but the confirmations of Paschal as bishop of Burgos and of Jimeno López as majordomo make such a date impossible. These and some of the other confirmants suggest 1117 as more probable.

[23] Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du* VI^e^ *au* XII^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1947), pp. 302 and 308.

[24] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 17. Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:223, erroneously dated it to August 5, 1117.

[25] See ch. 3, note 97. A reference in Prudencio de Sandoval, *Antigüedad de la ciudad y iglesia catedral de Túy* (1610; reprint, Barcelona, 1964), fol. 110v, to a donation of Urraca to the Galician monastery of Samos dated August 10, 1117, which might place the queen back in Galicia, is probably a mistaken reference to her diploma of August 6, 1120.

[26] ASI, Códices, no. 81, fols. 14r-17r; also notices with list of confirmants in Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar y Castro, O-3, p. 225, and O-8, p. 244r, which date to February 6, 1118.

the year came with the entry of her son into Toledo on November 16, 1117.[27] Doubtless Alfonso of Aragón regarded this action as going beyond anything he had agreed to earlier in the year, and he continued to use the imperial title, emphasizing his claim to that city and realm. Nonetheless, there is no trustworthy evidence that he ever exercised authority in the city thereafter. It was to be part of the price he paid for his concentration on the siege of Zaragoza. A series of private documents reflects the general reassertion of Urraca's authority in the trans-Duero during the year.[28]

The new dignity of Alfonso Raimúndez may be reflected in his second known charter, dated December 9, 1117. In it, Urraca's son styled himself "imperator," and the Archbishop of Toledo, the bishops of León, Salamanca, Oviedo, and Astorga, and the magnates Pedro Froilaz, Froila Díaz, and Pedro Ansúrez confirmed it, probably at Sahagún.[29]

[27] Ambrosio Huici y Miranda, ed., "Anales toledanos I," *Las crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1913), 1:345. There has been some reluctance to accept the date given by the annalist and to suggest November 16, 1118, as more probable; see Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España de los orígines a la baja Edad Media*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1955), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 414–416. Most recently Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 1:133, n. 1, accepts the date as given and, after reviewing the available evidence, so do I.

[28] A document of Valladolid of May 25, 1117 cites Urraca and her son as reigning in León, Castilla, Galicia, and "in tota Stremadura Christi auxilium fluctuus"; Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 1:120-124. A notice of an Astorgan document of June 7, 1117 still cites the Batallador as ruling in Aragón and Toledo but Urraca in León, Castilla, and Galicia, and her half sister Doña Sancha in Medina, probably Medina del Ríoseco, northwest of Valladolid; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 175. Another such notice of Astorga, dated December 24, 1117, mentions the rule of Urraca and her son in Toledo and the trans-Duero; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 43r.

[29] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 18. The use of the imperial title is troubling so early, however, and will not be repeated by Alfonso until after the death of Urraca. The language of the document also seems a little elaborate for the period. It is a copy and may have been somewhat interpolated but Peter Rassow, "Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons VII von Spanien," *Archiv für Ur-*

This charter is the last known appearance in the documents of the Leonese count Pedro Ansúrez. There is no satisfactory evidence for the date of his death but it is likely that it coincided roughly with the end of 1117 or early 1118.[30] He had been too regularly a part of Urraca's court and of the political life of the realm simply to have vanished into private life. Together with the retirement from court of his nephew, Guter Fernández, in 1117, his death would heighten the influence of Count Pedro González with the queen and thus make Urraca's relations with her son and his supporters more difficult. The suspicion is irresistible that the count of Lara would use his enhanced authority to promote the position of his own children by Urraca as possible heirs to the throne. If, as García Calles believes, the count's brother Rodrigo was married about this time to Urraca's younger half sister Sancha, the preeminence of the Lara family must have been of general concern.[31]

Urraca's Christmas court that year was probably held at León or Sahagún. She issued a charter on January 4, 1118 to the monastery of San Zoil de Carrión, whose dating formula cites her as reigning with her son "per totam hyspaniam." It was confirmed by Bernard of Toledo and the bishop of Palencia.[32] On February 7, 1118 a private donation to Cluny cites Urraca as reigning in León and Castilla and her son Alfonso in Toledo and the trans-Duero.[33] The queen was

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kundenforschung 10 (1928):415, accepted it, as do I. The notary is otherwise unknown and might be a monk of Sahagún, which could account for some precocity in language. The confirmation by Bishop Jerome of Salamanca makes it impossible to date the charter after 1119.

[30] Justiniano Rodriguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), p. 84.

[31] *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 24. The author does not, however, cite the grounds for her assertion.

[32] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.700, no. 13, fols. 3v-4r; published in Antonio de Yepes, *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito* (Valladolid, 1609-21), 6:462v. A printing error has the folio marked 460v.

[33] Published in Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas de la casa de los Marqueses de Trocifal* (Madrid, 1656), p. 6 app., who said that the original was at Cluny.

probably still in León as late as March 18, 1118, when she granted a charter to its bishops confirmed by Alfonso Raimúndez and his sister, Sancha.[34]

Meanwhile Alfonso of Aragón was marshalling a great army against Zaragoza.[35] To Alfonso's own forces were added those under Viscount Gaston of Béarn and the latter's brother, Centule of Bigorra, and together they began the siege in earnest in May 1118. In the same month Alfonso issued a charter in which he styled himself simply "king" and made no claims to Castilla.[36]

There is some indication that Urraca herself was in eastern Castilla at this same time. On May 19, 1118 she granted a charter to the monastery of Oña and in it claimed the rule of Galicia, León, and Burgos.[37] If there were conversations between the two at this time, subsequent events of the year indicate that they had little lasting effect. The "Historia Compostelana" relates that Urraca assembled a great army during the spring campaign against the king of Aragón.[38] More precisely, she campaigned to reestablish her authority over those local notables who had enjoyed practical independence since the death of Alvar Fáñez in 1114 and sometimes admitted allegiance to the Aragonese monarch.

The dimensions of the army can be gauged roughly by the presence of elements not only from León and Castilla but

[34] AC León, Tumbo, fols. 239v-240r. This may have the date on which she made another donation, itself dated solely to 1118, which was also confirmed by Alfonso and Sancha as well as many other of the same confirmants. But the latter indicates the presence also of the three infantas, Teresa, Elvira, and Sancha, and of Archbishop Bernard and the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Astorga. AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 21.

[35] García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 415.

[36] AHN, Clero, carp. 623, no. 1, an original. Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 63, says that Alfonso was also in Castilla in May of 1118 but I can find no evidence for the assertion.

[37] AHN, Clero, carp. 272, nos. 19, 20, and 21. The best copy is incomplete and one copy has a Bishop García of Burgos as confirmant. A private charter of May 16, 1118 cites Alfonso Raimúndez as ruling Toledo and Urraca León, but other defects give the document little credibility; AHN, Ordenes Militares, carp. 574, no. 3.

[38] Flórez, *ES*, 20:249-250.

also from Asturias and Galicia and by the presence in the host of Archbishop Bernard and the bishops of Osma and Salamanca. Still, there was a rising in Segovia against the queen while she and her court were holding a council there, which probably failed but indicated the continuing problems in the region.

To that council came Paio Mendes of Braga to be consecrated archbishop on June 2, 1118.[39] That event gave evidence of the growing strength of Urraca in Portuguese matters and the practical weakness of her sister Teresa, and probably determined Urraca's decision to travel to Galicia.

From Segovia Urraca may have returned briefly to Burgos, for on July 20, 1118 she issued a diploma to the men of that city.[40] But it seems more likely that the charter was given at Segovia, for it appears that by July 29, 1118 she was in Galicia, where she issued two charters and generally assumed control of the tangled affairs of the far west.[41]

[39] See ch. 8, note 48.

[40] Acad. Hist., Salazar y Castro, O-9, fol. 112; O-13, fol. 30, dated to 1108; and O-22, fol. 248r. None of these copies has a list of confirmants that might provide a clue about the place of issuance; published in Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), p. 265, from a copy then in the municipal archive of Burgos; and by Julían García Sáinz de Baranda, *La ciudad de Burgos y su concejo en la Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1967), 2:412.

[41] July 29, 1118; AHN, Clero, carp. 526, nos. 3 and 4, the former being an original; Códices, 976B, fol. 6v; published in Angelo Manrique, *Cisterciensium seu Verius Ecclesiasticarum Annalium a Condito Cistercio* (Lyons, 1642), 1:439, dated July 29, 1068; and in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Curso general de paleografía y paleografía y diplomática españolas*, 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1946), 2:34. Another original charter, in very bad condition, of whose dating formula only the year 1118 survives, was probably issued at or near this time; AHN, Clero, carp. 512, no. 7. A confirmation by Urraca and her son of a private document to the Galician monastery of San Martín Pinario, dated only to 1118, is probably of the same period; now lost but cited in Manuel Lucas Alvárez, "Catálogo de los documentos en pergamino existentes en el archivo de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Sección 2: Fondo del antiguo monasterio de San Martín Pinario," *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* 51-52 (1948):101. Under the date July 5, 1118, but probably to be redated a month or so later, there is a private

While the queen proceeded to Galicia, Archbishop Bernard probably led at least a portion of the army she had mobilized to the assistance of the realm of Toledo. It is certain that in that year an expedition under his leadership wrested the castle of Alcalá on the Tajo from the control of the Murābits.[42]

It is impossible to follow the movements of the queen herself after late July of 1118 until the death of Bishop Paschal of Burgos on October 13 provoked a new crisis over that much disputed city.[43] The evidence of intense activity at court in November and December of that year reflects, perhaps, reaction not only to that event but also to the apparently increasing possibility that Alfonso of Aragón would indeed conquer Zaragoza.

On November 15, 1118 Alfonso Raimúndez granted fueros to the inhabitants of Toledo, calling himself emperor.[44]

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agreement of the Galician monastery of Celanova made in the presence of Urraca and her son, Alfonso; AHN, Códices, 986B, fol. 180v, published in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos del monasterio de Celanova, años 975 a 1164," *Revista de ciencias jurídicas y sociales,* 12 (1929):43-44, and Emilio Sáez Sánchez, "El monasterio de Santa María de Ribeira," *Hispania* 4 (1944):188-189.

[42] Huici y Miranda, *Crónicas latinas*, p. 345. João Pedro Ribeiro, *Dissertações chronologicas e criticas sobre a história e jurisprudencia ecclesiastica e civil de Portugal*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1857-96), 2:108, refers to a charter of Alfonso Raimúndez of September 20, 1118 that reads "Facta Karta in Secobia redeunte Regina D. Urraca cum filio suo Rege D. Adefonso a Toletana obsidione cum Galiciano exercitu. . . ." This activity cannot be reconciled with the events of 1118 but might conceivably fit those of 1117.

Another charter of Urraca, dated September 12, 1118, seems to be a forgery. The dating formula recognizes Queen Teresa as reigning in Portugal, which no charter of Urraca ever did or, it seems, would do. Also, Bishop Alo is mentioned for Astorga, which is four years too early. AHN, Ordenes Militares, carp. 373, no. 1, and Códices, 1.045B, pp. 118-120; published in José Luis Martín, *Orígenes de la orden militar de Santiago* (Barcelona, 1974), pp. 170-171.

A reference in Luis Salazar y Castro, *Historia de la casa de Lara* (Madrid, 1694), p. 95, to a charter of Urraca to San Isidro de las Dueñas dated September 2, 1118 probably refers to her charter of September 2, 1119.

[43] Serrano, *Obispado*, 1:393.

[44] BN, Manuscritos, 13.089, fols. 131r and 132r-135r; published in Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 363-369. The problems of this text are discussed briefly but succinctly in González, *Repoblación*, 2:44-45.

Five days later, on November 20, he made a donation to the church of Toledo confirmed by his sister, Sancha, the bishops of León, Palencia, Salamanca, and Osma, and by Count Pedro González de Lara and Count Pedro Froilaz among the secular magnates.[45] The list of confirmants suggests that the charter was issued in Urraca's court, and I think it certain that both these charters were in fact issued at León.

Between November 15 and December 6, 1118 five charters were issued by Urraca, all of which were confirmed by Alfonso Raimúndez and four by her daughter Sancha. The five are grants to the cathedral of León, to a Leonese monastery, to the cathedral of Oviedo, to the Galician monastery of San Martín Pinario, and to a private individual. The confirmations to these charters indicate the presence at court also of the queen's two half sisters Sancha and Elvira, Archbishop Bernard, the bishops of Palencia, Astorga, León, Túy, Orense, Compostela, and Oviedo, and Counts Pedro González de Lara and Count Pedro Froilaz, as well as most of the other great secular magnates of the realm.[46]

One of the actions of this impressive curia was, in all like-

[45] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 12r, and 996B, fol. 50v; and AC Toledo, Z.12.A.1.2, and B42-23, fol. 3v. Yet another charter of Alfonso Raimúndez, to the monastery of San Clemente in Toledo, dated November 28, 1128, is at least corrupt if not forged; published in Yepes, *Crónica de San Benito*, 7:20v-21r app. Even if the date is corrected to 1118, a problem remains in the confirmation of the bishop of Sigüenza, as yet unrestored.

[46] November 15, 1118; AC León, no. 1.007, and Tumbo, fols. 118v-119r. November 18, 1118; AHN, Clero, carp. 977, no. 3. December 1, 1118; AHN, Códices, 258B, fols. 14 and 34v-35r. December 2, 1118; published in García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 362-363, from the copies in the cartularies of Oviedo, and in Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 38:349. Other copies exist in Acad. Hist., Colección de Catedrales de España, 9-25-1-C-1, fols. 62r-63r; Salazar y Castro, O-14, fols. 62v-63r, the latter dated April 2, 1118; and AGS, Sección Gracia y Justicia, legajo 1.673, no. 14. Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971), pp. 362-363, suggests that this charter is a forgery based on a genuine one of a more restricted nature. I agree but Rassow, "Urkunden," p. 415, accepted it. December 6, 1118; AC León, no. 900; published in Francisco Alvárez y Alvárez, "Monasterios de Pardominio," *AL* 4 (1950):141.

lihood, the approval of the election of Bishop Jimeno to the vacant see of Burgos. Early in 1119 Jimeno appears as bishop-elect in Urraca's charters.[47] This action was not to be accepted either in Burgos itself or by the Aragonese king. Nevertheless, if Archbishop Bernard of Toledo was at the court of Pope Gelasius II at Alais on December 12, 1118, this was one of the actions whose approval he sought.[48]

The renewed attempts of Bishop Gelmírez of Compostela to secure the archepiscopal dignity for his see were probably discussed there as well. Open disapproval would have been difficult for Urraca, but she seems to have been less than enthused. Bishop Gelmírez had been trying to send legates to Pope Gelasius since late spring but they had been stopped by agents of Alfonso of Aragón, and one of them was imprisoned after an interview with that monarch before Zaragoza.[49] A second legation sent in the fall met with the queen at Sahagún and was dissuaded from continuing. At her suggestion the prior of San Zoil de Carrión was entrusted with the task instead.[50]

One of the conditions made clear by this account is that Castrojeriz and Villafranca de Oca in eastern Castilla remained in the hands of Alfonso I. Another is that, although the Batallador's animosity towards Gelmírez remained strong, he at least was behaving properly toward Urraca. It is also evident that each had a fair knowledge of what was transpiring in the realm of the other.

[47] The first of them is dated February 22, 1119; published in Serrano, *Obispado*, 1:395-396.

[48] Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):483-485; J-W, 6665. The letter of Gelasius II to the besiegers of Zaragoza and the covering letter of the new Bishop Pedro of Zaragoza are followed by the confirmation of Archbishop Bernard. Paul Kehr, "El papado y los reinos de Navarra y Aragón hasta mediados del siglo XII," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):153, n. 163 (a translation of an article first published in *Abhandlungen der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaft*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, vol. 4 [Berlin, 1928], believes the confirmation of Bernard dates to 1121.

[49] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:260-263.

[50] Ibid., pp. 264-267.

For the king of Aragón prospects were very bright indeed. The most strenuous efforts of the Murābits of Andalucía to relieve Zaragoza had failed. The combined forces of Granada and Córdoba under Abd Allah ben Mazdali failed to achieve the needed victory, and that Muslim leader died in Zaragoza in the latter part of October or early November.[51] On December 18, 1118 the great city on the Ebro, despairing of effective assistance, surrendered to Alfonso I.

Alfonso immediately set about securing the hinterland of that city and the remaining Muslim strongpoints on the middle Ebro. By February 22, 1119 the most important of them, Tudela, was in his hands.[52] Its capture was followed in short order by those of Tarazona, Moncayo, and Borja, and, a little farther south, of Rueda and Epïla.[53] The whole of the plain on the right bank of the middle Ebro between Tudela and Zaragoza was now in his hands, and he must already in the spring of 1119 have been making plans for the siege of Calatayud to the southwest. That fortress town sat astride the road from Andalucía.

At the same time he was also pushing forward along the old Roman road from Tarazona through Agreda to Soria. His movements are not easy to follow in 1119 but it is certain that by the fall some of his forces had reached Soria across the Sierra del Madero. Soria, on the headwaters of the Duero, was only fifty-five kilometers from Urraca's supporter, Bishop Raymond at Osma. In September 1119 Alfonso's fuero to the new settlers of Tudela listed Jimeno López as *señor* in Soria and Burgos.[54]

Urraca's itinerary in 1119 is equally difficult to trace. Be-

[51] Ambrosio Huici y Miranda, "Nuevas aportaciones de 'Al-Bayan al-Mugrib' sobre los Almorávides," *Al-Andalus* 28 (1963):315-318.

[52] Ibid., p. 320.

[53] José María Lacarra, "La reconquista española y repoblación del valle del Ebro," in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Saragossa, 1951), p. 57.

[54] "Era MCLVII populavit rex Aldefonsus Soriam" reads the "Annales Compostelani"; Huici y Miranda, *Crónicas latinas*, p. 72.

yond the relatively scanty documents, only the "Historia Compostelana," whose author was concerned with Bishop Gelmírez's pursuit of the archiepiscopal prize, provides some precious information about the movements of the queen.

Late in 1118 Pope Gelasius had decided to send a new personal legate, Cardinal Deusdedit, to Spain. Our source says only that the purpose of his legation was to invite the bishops of Iberia to a council to be held in the Auvergne on March 1, 1119. It seems a fair surmise that he was charged to promote the fragile truce between León-Castilla and Aragón as well. It is certain that Gelasius was profoundly interested in anything that would aid the capture of Zaragoza.

We are not given the cardinal's itinerary, but in all likelihood he visited Alfonso before Zaragoza and then Urraca in León before proceeding on to Compostela. Since he bore a letter of Gelasius dated November 17, 1118, he could hardly have reached the city of Santiago before mid-December at best, even if he had left the south of France on that date.[55]

The information that the cardinal brought was apparently heartening enough for Gelmírez to decide to attend the projected council. He sent letters ahead asking the bishop of Jaca and the prior of Nájera to intercede with Alfonso of Aragón for a safe-conduct and set out for Sahagún, probably after the Christmas solemnities in early January. On arriving in Sahagún he discovered that the safe-conduct had been denied, and, tarrying there, learned that Pope Gelasius had died on January 29, 1119.

The bishop decided to visit Urraca, who was then in Burgos. Because the direct road was unsafe, he traveled south to Palencia, where, we are told, he spent almost a month before proceeding to Burgos in the company of the bishop of Palencia. There he was received by Urraca.[56]

This narrative would place Urraca in Burgos from mid-January until at least mid-March. It was a long stay, but the

[55] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:267.

[56] Ibid., pp. 268-270.

need to watch the movements of the Aragonese king after his conquest at Zaragoza and then Tudela makes it credible. The documents support the same conclusion. On February 22, 1119 Urraca issued a charter to the monastery of Arlanza, south of Burgos. It was confirmed by her son, her half sister Sancha and daughter of the same name, and by Archbishop Bernard, the bishops of Palencia, León, Salamanca, and the bishop-elect of Burgos. No place of issuance is given, but the list of secular confirmants indicates a Castilian provenance.[57] The following day there is a notice of a charter she gave to the monastery of Silos, south of Burgos.[58] Another grant of Urraca to Silos is dated March 26, 1119. It is confirmed by the same members of her immediate family and the same prelates, except that the bishop of Salamanca does not appear but Bishop Gelmírez does.[59]

The "Historia Compostelana" indicates that Gelmírez spent some little time in Burgos with the queen. It was there that he received the letter of Calixtus II, written at Crest on the Rhone, dated March 2, 1119. The letter was conveyed by the pope's brother-in-law, who was on pilgrimage to Compostela.[60] It is likely, then, that Urraca's charter of April 1, 1119 to the Galician monastery of San Martín Pinario was also granted in Burgos at the request of Gelmírez. The list of confirmants to that charter has not survived.[61]

Shortly thereafter, however, Urraca seems to have moved south from Burgos to Palencia in company with Bishop Gelmírez. The latter then moved on to Sahagún but Urraca did not. From Sahagún Gelmírez sent a new agent to the papal court, which the envoy reached in late May or early

[57] Published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 169-171, and Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:395-396.

[58] Flórez, *ES*, 26:249.

[59] AHN, Clero, carp. 375, no. 2; published in Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 43-45, and in Francisco de Sota, *Crónica de los príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid, 1681), pp. 660-661.

[60] Flórez, *ES*, 20:271.

[61] AHN, Códices, 258B, fols. 15v-16r.

June at Montpellier. But this emissary's itinerary had taken him first back to Palencia to confer with the queen.[62]

Urraca, then, probably spent most of April and early May in or near Palencia. What indications there are of her activity point to her concern to protect the eastern flank of the realm of Toledo, presumably against Alfonso I but possibly against the Murābits as well. It may be at this time that she confirmed the fuero of Palenzuela near Palencia, but this action is undated.[63] At this time, too, she may have issued her charter, dated only to 1119, granting the villages of Hita and Uceda to Fernando García. The confirmants show her still surrounded by the members of her family, including Alfonso Raimúndez, and Archbishop Bernard and Bishop Pedro of Palencia.[64] Hita and Uceda were strategic positions on the Henares and Jarama rivers, respectively, both of which flow southwest toward Madrid and ultimately to Toledo. Urraca would thus have strengthened the position of the faithful Fernando Garciaz of Hita, who in 1119 appears more frequently in her charters than any year before and after except 1110.

Negotiations with Alfonso of Aragón may have been in progress also. One of the confirmants of this charter is a Count Bernaldo. This may be Count Bertran, Alfonso's lieutenant at Carrión. Such conversations would have been at least useful at this point.

By the end of June the queen had moved north to the vicinity of Sahagún. At the castle of Grajal on June 20 she granted a charter to the granddaughter of Count Pedro Ansúrez, Estefania Armengol. Her half sister Sancha and

[62] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:271-273.

[63] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral* (Madrid, 1906), pp. 17-30; and Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 273-278.

[64] AHN, Códices, 1.046B, pp. 376-378, and Sección de Osuña, Ducado del Infantado, legajo 1.671-3; published in Martín, *Orígenes*, pp. 171-172. These copies do not perfectly preserve the order of the original confirmants, there having been, apparently, a subsequent reconfirmation by Alfonso Raimúndez after 1120, for Bishop Pedro of Segovia is given as present.

daughter of the same name confirmed but her son did not, nor did any bishops of the realm. Among the secular nobles who confirmed was Count Bernardo, again an indication of negotiations with the Aragonese if our identification is correct.[65]

But Urraca had to deal with some type of attempted coup at home. The evidence is scattered and incomplete. The "Historia Compostelana" relates that sometime in the spring Urraca's former majordomo, Guter Fernández, had seized Count Pedro González of Lara and imprisoned him in the castle of Mancilla, some twenty kilometers southeast of León on the Río Esla. The reason given is the latter's excessive familiarity with the queen and the spread of his power thereby.[66] His captivity must have been brief, for the count of Lara confirmed Urraca's charters of March 26 and June 30 in 1119. Nevertheless, his imprisonment so close to León itself and the stature of Guter Fernández indicate a plot with considerable backing.

Nor was the trouble over quickly. On July 18, 1119 there was fighting in León itself, and Urraca was besieged in the royal fortress of that city.[67]

To this conspiracy should be linked the complaints of Archbishop Bernard to Pope Calixtus made in the name of Alfonso Raimúndez in the early summer of 1119. The pri-

[65] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, rollo 10.101, Valladolid; published in Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:125-127; Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones*, p. 119; and Salazar y Castro, *Casa de Lara*, p. 655. The script of this document is contemporary but the format departs significantly from any chancery style and resembles more that of a private document of the period. The dating formula has a problem in that it reads "IIII feria" but in 1119 June 30 fell on Monday. The document strikes me as a careless copy made by a contemporary, with perhaps some interpolation.

[66] Flórez, *ES*, 20:270.

[67] "Annales Complutenses," Huici y Miranda, *Crónicas latinas*, p. 50. There is a later siege of the towers of León by Alfonso VII at the beginning of his reign but the two incidents should be distinguished; see Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 6-7 and n. 3.

mate seems to have suspected the complicity of the bishop of Compostela and to have warned the pope that such unfortunate initiatives might end by costing the young infans his inheritance of the realm.[68] Similarly, the refusal of the queen to permit Gelmírez to travel to France later in the year, because she suspected him of using the trip to secure the immediate succession of her son, should also be related to these events.[69]

The entire conspiracy is best understood as a premature reaction of León and Galicia against what appeared to be the excessively eastern and Castilian policy that Urraca had been pursuing since 1117. The abandonment of Zaragoza to Aragón, the recognition of Count Bertran at Carrión, the promotion of the Riojan Jimeno López to majordomo, and the dismissal of Guter Fernández from that post all seemed to point to a possible reconciliation of the queen with the Aragonese monarch unacceptable to either the Raimundist faction or considerable elements of the Leonese nobility. The involvement of Guter Fernández, former señor of Castrojeriz, in the plot suggests that some in Castilla also objected to such a policy.

Even for those who realized how improbable was a full reconciliation between the Leonese queen and the Aragonese king, Urraca's policy contained disturbing potential. Its development had coincided with changes at court that also emphasized the growing distance from the great days of her father, Alfonso VI. The death of Count Pedro Ansúrez in late 1117 or early 1118 and the retirement of his nephew, Guter Fernández, from court had been followed by the death of Froila Díaz, Count of Astorga, in the summer of 1119. All three magnates had served about the crown from at least the splendid year of the conquest of Toledo. Their absence opened the way now to a noxious predominance of Castil-

[68] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:273-274.
[69] Ibid., p. 277.

ians at court generally and of Count Pedro of Lara in particular.

The latter may well have had interests in an accommodation with Alfonso of Aragón that might award his offspring by Urraca a virtual appanage in Castilla under the patronage of the Aragonese monarch. Against the threat of such a possibility, Gelmírez might well have made common cause with the nobility of León. Given the fragmentary character of the evidence, such at least are the motives and suspicions that may have inspired the unsuccessful coup of the summer of 1119.

By September 2, 1119 the danger to Urraca's government seems to have been over. On that date she issued a charter in the presence once again of the primate and the bishops of Palencia, León, Osma, and Salamanca. The confirmants also included the count of Lara and his brother, Rodrigo González, the majordomo Jimeno López and his brother, Pedro López of Haro, Fernando Garciaz of Hita, and, this time certainly, Count Bertran of Carrión.[70] The eastern policy would continue.

That policy entailed stresses for both Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón. Both continued their claims to Castilla. But the policy must have suited their interests, for by the fall of the year, as mentioned above, Alfonso himself recognized Jimeno López as señor of Burgos and Soria, both of which were potential points of dispute. As for Urraca, although she maintained her claim to Burgos by her support of Jimeno as bishop-elect, she did not force his immediate consecration, which was probably within her power. When, also in the fall of 1119, a canon of Gelmírez's on his way to the papal court was arrested at Burgos, it is hard to determine whose writ

[70] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 274v-275v. The same charter is published by Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones*, pp. 7-8 app., but with confusion as to the date and with a Bishop Geraldinus confirming for Salamanca rather than Bishop Jerome.

ran in that city and whether his detention was due to orders from Urraca or from Alfonso I.[71]

After early September Urraca's activities are unknown for the remainder of the year. Two charters of Alfonso Raimúndez are preserved from that period but both have difficulties. One charter, dated September 26, 1119, to the Galician monastery of San Julian de Moraime would put him at Simancas. The list of confirmants indicates the presence of the bishops of León, Oviedo, Lugo, Orense, and Compostela, the latter prematurely cited as "Archbishop." The nobles present include not only Count Pedro Froilaz of Galicia but also Pedro Díaz, who held the towers of León for Urraca in 1118, and a Count Fernando de Campos, who is probably Fernando Fernández, husband of the Infanta Elvira.[72] If this document has any credence, it indicates important negotiations between Urraca and her son at that date.

The second charter, dated October 8, 1119, granting a mint to Sahagún is even more remarkable. For the young king to have given this regalian right to the greatest monastery of the realm would imply power beyond anything he is known to have exercised at this time. It was confirmed by the pri-

[71] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:281.

[72] AHN, Microfilmas, rollo 5.380, Biblioteca del Seminario de Compostela, an eighteenth-century copy; published in Antonio López Ferreiro, *Don Alfonso VII, Rey de Galicia, y su ayo el Conde de Traba* (Santiago de Compostela, 1885), p. 134; López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostolica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:107-109 app.; and in Manuel Lucas Alvárez, "El monasterio de San Julián de Moraime en Galicia," *Homenje a Don Augustín Millares Carlo* (Grand Canary, 1975), 2:626-628, from what he regarded as an original in an unidentified private collection.

In addition to its premature citation of Gelmírez as archbishop, the text has other diplomatic problems. In general, it reflects a court grown up around the young king, with an otherwise unknown alférez and even a chancellor, which seems much too developed by comparison with his other charters of the same period. See Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):245-246.

mate and the bishop of León as well as by Count Pedro Froilaz and Count Bertran.[73]

A private document of November 20, 1119 indicates rather that the queen was extending her own power at this time. It mentions Pedro López, future majordomo of Urraca, as holding Saldaña. This town had formerly been held by Count Pedro Ansúrez, and it is surprising to find it in the hands of a Riojan noble.[74]

Finally, there is a charter of Alfonso of Aragón to the men of Belchite in Aragón, dated to December 13, 1119 and issued in "Petrusa circa Sobovia," which has been identified as Pedraza, not far from Segovia. There are some problems with the charter, and no other source puts Alfonso so far west at this time.[75]

Instead, the events and documents of the following year demonstrate the continuing power of Urraca. Her son Alfonso Raimúndez does not issue a single known charter in 1120. Bishop Pedro was consecrated to the see of Segovia on January 25, 1120.[76] Although it has been argued that the res-

[73] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, nos. 22 and 23; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 514-515. The text of the donation follows that of Urraca's grant of the same right, dated October 15, 1116, so closely as to make its authenticity doubtful. Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador*, pp. 67-68, n. 62, simply accepts both charters without alluding to their problems.

[74] Published in Serrano, *Cartulario de Arlanza*, pp. 167-169, and Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana* (Madrid, 1948), pp. 167-169. Another document of Valladolid, dated November 12, 1119, records the marriage of Urraca's staunch supporter, Fernando Garciaz, to the heiress of the house of Ansúrez, Estefanía Armengol. It also records the status quo since 1117, citing Urraca as ruling in León and Castilla and her son in Toledo and the trans-Duero. Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid,* 1:141-147.

[75] Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 413-414. The date given in the text is 1116 but the citation of Michael as bishop-elect in Tarazona makes 1119 the only possible date. The identification of Petrusa and Pedraza is made by Antonío Ubieto Arteta, "Los primeros años de la diócesis de Sigüenza," *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, 1962), 1:136.

[76] María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I el Batallador y Segovia," *Estudios segovianos* 19 (1967):18 and n. 27.

toration of Segovia was the work of Alfonso of Aragón, it seems most unlikely that the Aragonese king would have chosen a canon of Toledo and a protégé of Archbishop Bernard and of Urraca for such a post, and the evidence for such an action is almost nonexistent.[77]

The restoration reflects instead Urraca's need to bolster her position in the trans-Duero region. At one and the same time it would placate the restless inhabitants of that city, who had revolted in 1114 and again in 1118, by giving them their own bishop and strengthen her authority through his collaboration in her rule. If Bernard of Toledo lost the right to continue directly administering the church of Segovia, he gained a suffragan in the face of an impending loss of Coimbra, Salamanca, and Ávila to a new archbishop at Compostela.

There is no direct evidence of the whereabouts of Urraca and her court in early 1120. On January 22, 1120 a private exchange of property in Asturias was drawn up by the royal notary Juan Rodríguez and confirmed by the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Palencia.[78] Another private donation of property in Burgos, dated March 4, 1120, was confirmed by the bishops of León, Astorga, and Palencia. Confirmation by minor ecclesiastics of the church of León places its issuance in that city. It is also obvious that the document was issued at court.[79] On April 16, 1120 Urraca herself may have made a donation to the church of Astorga whose confirmants were her son and her daughter, her half sister, and the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Astorga.[80]

[77] Ubieto Arteta, "Primeros años de Sigüenza," p. 140.

[78] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 16, published in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El monasterio de Cornellana* (Oviedo, 1949), pp. 22-23.

[79] Published in Serrano, *Obispado*, pp. 150-152, with the date 1121 although the text clearly reads 1120; and in Sota, *Crónica de los príncipes*, pp. 661-662. Another copy exists in Acad. Hist., Salazar y Castro, O-17, fols. 706v-708r, also dated to 1121.

[80] BN, Manuscritos, 712, fols. 87v-88r, and 9.194, fol. 104; published in Flórez, *ES*, 16:477-479, and Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio*, 2:542-545. In the two published versions, Bishop Pedro of Segovia also confirms but the manuscript source is not given. As we have it the text is widely divergent

Urraca also made a donation of property in Asturias on April 27, 1120, confirmed by her daughter and her half sister Sancha but not her son, and by the Archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Astorga, León, Oviedo, and Palencia.[81] Finally, in May 1120 Urraca granted a charter to the church of Oviedo, confirmed by Bishop Diego of León.[82]

The character of all these documents, makes it appear probable that the queen was at León in the winter and early spring of 1120 and that they were all issued there. Together the documents indicate also the presence at court of most of her regular supporters.

Further evidence of the strength of Urraca's position may be gleaned from a letter dated March 4, 1120, which Pope Calixtus II wrote to the bishops, princes, and counts of Spain bitterly attacking the behavior of Urraca toward her son and insisting on the validity of the oath the nobles had taken to uphold the claim of Alfonso Raimúndez to the realm.[83]

The information the pope had obtained was apparently well founded, for the queen had in mind a major campaign in the west of the peninsula. Since Urraca had made a tacit alliance with the north Portuguese family of Mendo Gonçalves of Maia in 1118 and accepted Paio Mendes as the new archbishop of Braga, the Infanta Teresa sought some kind of understanding with Alfonso Raimúndez and his supporters. In the young king's charter to Toledo of November 28, 1118, two supporters of Teresa, Paio Soares and Gomes Nuñes, appeared as *alcaldes* of Toledo and of Talavera, respectively.[84]

In 1119 the bishop of Portuguese Oporto became the major agent in the negotiation with Calixtus II over the eleva-

from chancery norms and is probably much interpolated. At best, it was prepared outside the chancery or is massively interpolated.

[81] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 17; published in Floriano Cumbreño, *Cornellana*, pp. 151-152.

[82] García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 365-366.

[83] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:316; Ulysse Robert, ed., *Bullaire du Pape Calixti II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 1:222-223; Migne, *PL*, 163:1171; J-W, 6828.

[84] Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:116, calls attention to the significance of these confirmations.

tion of Compostela to an archbishopric. Although Bishop Hugh of Oporto was a canon of Santiago and friend of Gelmírez, his actions suggest that Teresa of Portugal was supporting him as a measure of opposition to Urraca. That suspicion is heightened by the charter granted to Bishop Hugh by Teresa on April 18, 1120, at which time he must have only recently returned from his eminently successful mission.[85]

Urraca could not but act against such a threatening combination, and in the spring of 1120 she came once again to Galicia. By June 13, when she made a donation to the church of Compostela, she had arrived in Santiago.[86]

The significance of this grant has been greatly overemphasized, first by the author of the "Historia Compostelana" and then by the historians who have followed him too uncritically. In the face of evidence to the contrary, the grant has been presented as a major, new concession to Gelmírez by Urraca that made the former, for the first time, the legally paramount authority in west central Galicia. When compared with Urraca's earlier donation of May 14, 1112, however, the grant of 1120 emerges as little more than a confirmation of the archbishop's already existing powers and the addition of some properties and privileges.[87]

Indeed, despite the attempted coup of the preceding year,

[85] Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP*, 1:66-67.

[86] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 32; AD Santiago, legajo 90, fols. 8r-9v, a copy of 1781; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:110-112 app. Two other citations of donations made by Urraca in 1120 that dealt with Galicia may also date from this period when she was organizing her Portuguese campaign: Acad. Hist., Colección de Conde de Mora, 9-6-4-0-3, fol. 130r; and Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 2:303.

[87] Flórez, *ES*, 20:303-304. See Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington, D.C. 1949), pp. 160-163, and García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 418. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:14, asserts that the donation of 1112 had never taken effect, a statement that is gratuitous and hardly defensible given the history of the intervening eight years. For the text of the latter donation, see López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:79-80 app.

Urraca felt little need to make concessions. The queen had come to Galicia with her son and, prior to this donation, had secured the military support of Gelmírez against the local supporters of Count Pedro Froilaz. That campaign had been markedly successful.[88]

The conclusion of these operations was marked by recurring suspicions between the queen and her archbishop, which were resolved by a new pact of friendship between them, negotiated with the help of the treasurer of Cluny, who was then in Compostela. The confirmation of Gelmírez's authority on June 13, 1120 should be seen in this context and was accompanied by the renewal by the magnates of their vows of fidelity to the archbishop, saving their allegiance to the queen herself. It is noteworthy that no mention is made of similar allegiance owed to Alfonso Raimúndez.[89]

Together the preceding campaign and negotiations had opened the way for an even more important drive against Teresa of Portugal, doubtless the major reason for which Urraca had come to Galicia. The aid of Archbishop Gelmírez was again enlisted, however reluctant that prelate may have been to increase even further Urraca's power in the west. Operations went swiftly and successfully. The Miño was crossed against opposition near Túy, and Teresa was driven back to her castle at Lanhoso, ten kilometers northeast of Braga, and besieged there. Urraca's forces raided the countryside as far south as the Duero.[90]

On June 17, 1120 Urraca issued a charter to the church of Braga confirmed by Gelmírez and Alfonso Raimúndez as

[88] Flórez, *ES*, 20:303-304, 312-316, 322, and 323-324. All through this portion of the HC the author has subsequently reworked and interpolated his original text. See Bernard F. Reilly, "The 'Historia Compostelana': The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish 'Gesta,' " *Speculum* 44 (1969): 82-83. Subsequent historians who have not fully appreciated the method of the author have been led to accept an erroneous chronology and to multiply events, taking transitional passages supplied by the author as wholly new developments.

[89] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:312-314.

[90] Ibid., pp. 324-327.

well as by Count Rodrigo Vélaz and Count Alfonso Núñez.[91] About this time she may also have received recognition of her sovereignty in Portugal from the young Alfonso Enríquez and his chief supporters among the nobles of the region.[92] Such recognition would have left those elements in Galicia opposed to her rule without prospect of aid from the south for the first time since 1109.

Such an accord would explain Urraca's decision to consolidate her power in Galicia by ending the extraordinary authority of Gelmírez, so recently reaffirmed. By July 20, during the return from Portugal, she had made him her prisoner.[93] According to the "Historia Compostelana," the archbishop had been warned by Teresa during the siege of Lanhoso of Urraca's intentions.[94] If that is so, it illustrates the closeness of the relations between the two and the necessity for Urraca's action.

On the evening of July 24, 1120 the queen entered Compostela and the following day informed the canons of the church that she had terminated the "honor" of Santiago, had reclaimed its castles, and intended to make an inquiry into the use the archbishop had made of his authority. The text makes it clear that Urraca was willing to negotiate the terms of the archbishop's release, for despite her threat to do so it was clearly impossible to hold him prisoner indefinitely.

Her hand was forced, however. Her son Alfonso, who had been at least a passive witness of her actions, now withdrew

[91] Arquivo Distrital de Braga, Livro das Cadeias, fol. 54v. This invasion of Portugal has been assigned to 1121 by López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:35-37; by García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 419-420; and by Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez*, pp. 166-167, none of whom knew of the existence of this charter and who followed the implicit chronology of the HC. Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:123-125, places it correctly in 1120.

[92] Such at least is the opinion of Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:123-124, who believed that a deep division between Teresa and her son was created at this time.

[93] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:328-330.

[94] Ibid., p. 327.

from her court and joined Count Pedro Froilaz, whose troops were camped near the city. Encouraged by this division, the supporters of Gelmírez among the townsmen rioted, and Urraca had to take refuge in the cathedral. She was unable to restore the city to control and finally released Gelmírez after only eight days of imprisonment on or about July 28, 1120.[95]

But the queen would not, as our source sadly records, restore either the castles or the "honor" of Santiago, because of her need for money. Eventually Gelmírez entered into new negotiations with Alfonso Raimúndez, Count Pedro Froilaz, and Teresa of Portugal in order to recover them.[96]

In the meantime, by August 6, 1120 it appears that Urraca was in eastern Galicia at the monastery of Samos, to which she made a donation on that date. The charter was confirmed by the archbishop of Compostela and the bishops of Lugo, Mondoñedo, Orense, and Túy as well as a large number of the secular magnates of Galicia.[97] Their presence indicates

[95] Ibid., pp. 332-335.

[96] Ibid., p. 335.

[97] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 8. There is a problem with this copy, in that Gelmírez confirms as bishop rather than as archbishop. Otherwise it meets the chancery norms of the time so that this discrepancy is likely due to a copyist's error. Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia* (Madrid, 1953), no. 199, regarded it as an original but comparison with the original hand of the notary, Pedro Vicéntez, makes it clear that it is not.

Two documents of the church of León, dated June 29, 1120 and July 2, 1120, would pose considerable problems if they were reliable. Both purport to be documents of Bishop Diego of León. The earlier one is confirmed by Urraca, Archbishop Bernard, the bishops of Palencia, Astorga, Oviedo, Compostela, and the archbishop of Braga and his suffragans. The later one is confirmed by all these and additionally by the bishop of Salamanca. They could hardly have been issued during the Portuguese campaign and would indicate a major gathering at León instead.

Both documents list Compostela as a mere episcopate; both, however, also possess "literary" introductions and exhibit other diplomatic peculiarities. I suspect they are wishful later reconstructions, most likely based on a more humble and limited original. June 29, 1120; AC León, no. 1.384; Acad. Hist., Catedrales, 9-25-1-C-4, fols. 91r-99v; published in Risco, *ES*,

both the continuing reality of her power and the fact that negotiations were still in process.

Urraca was probably back in León on August 21, when she granted to Cluny the church of San Nicolas in Villafranca. Villafranca is in the western portion of the diocese of Astorga on the pilgrim road to Compostela. Nonetheless, the confirmation of the charter by the archbishop of Toledo, the bishops of León and Astorga, and Count Pedro González and his brother Rodrigo, suggests that it was issued near León instead of at Villafranca.[98] A private document of August 22, drawn up by the royal notary Juan Rodríguez and confirmed by the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Palencia, reinforces that impression.[99]

The grant to Cluny may have been intended in part to secure the aid of that influential monastery both in negotiating with Gelmírez and the Raimundist faction and in preventing too severe a papal reaction to her brief imprisonment of the archbishop. Another donation to Cluny by Jimena Múñoz, possibly the former mistress of Alfonso VI, is dated September 20, 1120 and may evidence the same general attempt to secure the good offices of Cluny. It was confirmed by Count Pedro of Lara and his brother, Rodrigo.[100]

Amid this concern with Galicia and Portugal, the affairs of Castilla and pacific relations with Alfonso of Aragón were not entirely neglected. Probably in August, Urraca had is-

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35:417-421. July 2, 1120; AC León, no. 1.383, Tumbo, fols. 101v-103r; published in Risco, *ES*, 36:104-106, and Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *La judería de la ciudad de León* (León, 1969), pp. 189-191.

[98] Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:301-302.

[99] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 16.

[100] Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 5:302-303. The identification of the donor with the former mistress is likely but not certain. Charles Julian Bishko, "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal," *SM* 7 (1965): 325, accepts it but Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien* (Kallmünz, 1974), pp. 159-160, does not. Augusto Quintana Prieto, "Jimena Muñiz, madre de Doña Teresa de Portugal," *RPH* 12 (1969):223-280, does not treat this document, and it could hardly be reconciled with his conclusions.

sued a charter to the church of Burgos confirmed by the primate of Toledo, the bishops of León and Oviedo, and by Jimeno López and his brother, Pedro, the señor of Saldaña.[101] Although the charter is dated only by year in the copy that survives, the same Domingo Falcón of Burgos who is mentioned in it also confirmed Urraca's charter to Cluny of August 21. Possibly of the same time also was a charter of Urraca to the Castilian monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, confirmed by the primate, the bishops of Oviedo and Salamanca, and Jimeno, bishop-elect of Burgos.[102]

Alfonso I was also giving attention to the affairs of Castilla. A notice survives of a charter of his, dated August 1120 and issued in the "new castle of Burgos."[103] Then or slightly earlier, the truce or understanding between Urraca and her former husband that had been formulated in 1117 was renewed.[104]

Although neither monarch surrendered claims to Castilla, both had more immediate, pressing concerns. Alfonso's defeat of an Andalusian army at Cutanda in June of 1120 and the subsequent surrender of Calatayud and Daroca opened the way to consolidation of the entire plain on the right bank of the middle Ebro up to the limits of Medinaceli in the west and Teruel in the south. It capped his successes of the past

[101] Published in Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:147-148, from what he styled an original in the cathedral archive and a copy in the cathedral cartulary. Clearly it is not an original, for the copyist has missed the complete date and the script is later. Other copies exist in BN, Manuscritos, 720, fol. 230, dated to 1121; and Acad. Hist., Salazar y Castro, O-17, fols. 715v-716r, and O-22, fol. 36r, dated 1121. Also published in Serrano, *Colección de El Moral*, p. 12.

[102] Only a notice survives in Bernardo Dorado, *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1776), p. 102.

[103] Francisco Fuentes Pascual, ed., *Catálogo del Archivo Municipal de Tudela* (Tudela, 1947), 1:5.

[104] Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 5 (1952): 532. A private document that reads "factum est quando Aldefonsus rex fecit pacem cum regina Castellana et quando ipse rex et comes Pictavensis ceperunt Calataiu." Calatayud surrendered to Alfonso I after his defeat of a Murābit relief force at Cutanda on June 17, 1120. See Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 69.

year and a half and pointed irresistibly toward his later campaigns against Fraga and Lérida in the east. But he required time to secure his control over this great region, largely populated by the Muslim.

Urraca, on the other hand, was necessarily concerned with renegotiating her relationship with her son. In the west of her kingdom the old coalition among Count Pedro Froilaz, Archbishop Gelmírez, and Teresa of Portugal was reforming. Because she was unwilling to meet their collective demands, Urraca had to find some way to deal separately with them or, at least, with Alfonso Raimúndez. Her heir was the legal and emotional rallying point for the archbishop and the count and it was principally his plight that engaged the interest of Pope Calixtus.

No charters of Urraca are known for the remainder of the year, and the course of events must be inferred through sporadic chance references. A charter of the infanta Sancha, her daughter, dated September 27, 1120, cites Urraca as ruling in León and her son in Toledo, after the fashion usual since 1118. It also demonstrates that the strong points of León and western Castilla were in the hands of old supporters of the queen.[105]

Then, less than a week later, on October 1, a private document of Sahagún mentions Urraca as ruling in all of Spain and "Adefonsus rex in sci. facundi."[106] This citation might be dismissed as a simple mistake if it were not for another private document of November 8, 1120, this one redacted by the royal notary Juan Rodríguez, which reads "regnante regina domna Urracha apud Legionem filio quoque eius aput Toletum et Sanctam Facundam et Maiorigam." The document was confirmed by the bishops of Oviedo, Lugo, and Mondoñedo, all supporters of the queen, but also by the archbishop of Compostela, by Count Pedro Froilaz, by Gu-

[105] AHN, Clero, carp. 961, no. 7, published in García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 130-131; and in Vicente Vignau, ed., *Cartulario del monasterio de Eslonza* (Madrid, 1885), pp. 17-19.

[106] AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 2.

ter Vermúdez, the count's brother-in-law, and by Count Muño Peláez, all of the Raimundist party.[107]

From these notices it appears that the queen had made a major concession to her son and his Gallegan supporters in the fall of 1120. The terse references probably are best understood as implying Alfonso Raimúndez's control and enjoyment of the revenues of the central block of fisc lands in and around Sahagún and perhaps extending as far as thirty-two kilometers southwest to Mayorga on the Río Cea.

The most telling pressure, which forced Urraca to consent to such a diminution of her resources, came from outside the realm rather than from within it. On October 7, 1120, from Melfi, Pope Calixtus II addressed five letters to Spain: to his new legate, Cardinal Boso, to Urraca herself, to Alfonso Raimúndez, to Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, and to the bishops of Spain. In them he demanded that Urraca release Archbishop Gelmírez and return the latter's castles and honors. If the queen were not to do so within forty days of being formally adjured by them, Cardinal Boso, the primate, and the bishops were to meet in council, excommunicate the queen and her assistants, and place an interdict on the entire realm.[108]

[107] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 18; published in Floriano Cumbreño, *Cornellana*, pp. 23-26. The document is a contemporary copy that lists Gelmírez as bishop. I regard it as a simple scribal error.

[108] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:341-346. These letters, undated as to year, have been uniformly assigned to October 7, 1121 by the authorities; J-W, 6926-30; Migne, *PL*, 163:1219-21; Robert, *Bullaire*, 1:368-373. That dating, based on their placement in the HC and on the probable itinerary of Calixtus II in 1120 and 1121, has in turn dictated dating the Portuguese campaign to 1121. But if Calixtus was unaware three months later that Gelmírez had been released, he could hardly have been unaware one year and three months later. However, a neglected letter of Calixtus II of December 31, 1120 describes his journey through the south of Italy in that year from Benevento into Apulia and as far as Bari. The route would have lain through Malfi. All the authorities know this letter and accept its dating but have ignored its implications for the itinerary of Calixtus in 1120 and 1121 as well as for the dating of the other five letters; Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:308-309; J-W, 6877; Migne, *PL*, 163:1190; Robert, *Bullaire*, 1:296-297. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:41, assigns the place of origin of the five letters to Amalfi, unsupported by the text. Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez*, p. 171, apparently follows him.

Urraca's concession of control of much of the fisc lands to her son should be understood as an attempt to forestall, in the fall of 1120, the effects of such impending papal action, which she must have foreseen. Her hopes were probably based on the ambition of her son, on the fact that he was himself implicated in the initial seizure of Gelmírez, and on the adherence by all parties to the dispute to the terms of the new arrangement. The very violence of the papal reaction and the despatch of a new legate, however, opened possibilities for compelling still more concessions that Alfonso Raimúndez, his party, and especially Gelmírez found it impossible to resist.

The coming year threatened, at the least, the loss of control over Galicia, which Urraca had maintained since 1117. At worst, she might face general rebellion or withdrawal of support and the passage of control of the entire realm to Alfonso Raimúndez. Her unwise attempt to complete and stabilize her control in the west by seizing the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela had created a new and profound crisis, the key to which lay in the actions of Rome. As in 1110, who would rule in León-Castilla in 1121 depended largely on the papacy's reaction to a breach of church law. The queen's continuance in power depended on her ability to reach an understanding with Calixtus II, brother of her first husband and uncle of Alfonso Raimúndez.

FIVE

RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN PROBLEM AND THE RENEWAL OF THE LEONESE-CASTILIAN RECONQUISTA (1121-1124)

URRACA's attempts in 1121 to negotiate a settlement that would maintain the integrity of her rule in León-Castilla and salvage what she could of her position in Galicia were enormously complicated by the growing strength of her opponents. Deprived by the queen of his honor and his castles, Archbishop Gelmírez turned again, as so often before, to an alliance with Count Pedro Froilaz in order to repair his fortunes. Meanwhile, the head of the house of Trastamara had drawn his own alliance with Teresa of Portugal even closer.

A document of the Portuguese monastery of Lorvão dated January 24, 1121 cites his son, Fernando Pérez, as holding Coimbra and Portugal.[1] Whether Count Fernando became the husband of Teresa or merely her consort and lover remains an open question. But he first appeared as a confirmant in her charter of February 1, 1121[2] and continued by her side until both were defeated and expelled from Portugal by her son, Alfonso Enríquez, in 1128. The liaison suited the purposes of the Portuguese queen, who had never given up her designs of controlling the entire valley of the Miño from Túy to Orense. She in turn was the ideal ally for Pedro Froilaz, whose lands lay in the northwest of Galicia. Between the two lay west central Galicia, since July of 1120 under the direct control of Urraca.

The Count of Traba and the Portuguese ruler were, how-

[1] Antonio Brandão, *Monarquia lusitana* (Lisbon, 1632), 3:89. See also Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:125.

[2] Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:70.

ever, uncomfortable allies for Gelmírez. Once his honor was recovered, he would find them to the north and south of his domains as Urraca did now. But for the moment he had no choice. Moreover, as archbishop of the see of Santiago and papal legate for the provinces of Braga and Mérida, he had a prestige and an ecclesiastical machinery that his allies and foes alike found difficult to counter. Already in 1120 he had summoned the bishops of those provinces—Coimbra, Braga, Túy, Orense, Mondoñedo, Lugo, Astorga, Salamanca, and Ávila—to meet in council at Compostela on January 9, 1121.[3] In the case of Salamanca and Ávila, it was the bishops-elect who were summoned, probably both of them Gelmírez's own choices for the posts.

Under the circumstances prevailing in midwinter 1121, the meeting could hardly be other than a council of war directed against Urraca. That being so, the supporters of the queen refused to attend and were suspended from episcopal office by Gelmírez. These were the archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Coimbra, Lugo, and Mondoñedo.[4] The bishop of Astorga would not have attended for much the same reasons but may have pleaded illness and died before year's end, thus escaping both censure and our notice. The inability of Teresa of Portugal to compel the attendance of Coimbra and Braga is a commentary on her weakness at this time. What the council effected the "Historia Compostelana" does not say, but it is certain that secular concerns were a large part of its agenda.

Urraca, meanwhile, wintered in León. A donation of Count Fernando Fernández, husband of the Infanta Elvira, dated February 25, 1121, was confirmed by the prelates of Toledo, Palencia, and León and the familiars of her court. Urraca

[3] Enrique Flórez, ed., HC, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:308.

[4] Ibid., p. 336. It should be borne in mind that, except for the bishop of Lugo, who was simply an uncompromising adherent of Urraca, all of them also had ecclesiastical reasons for their absence. Braga had long been the object of Compostela's aggressions, Coimbra was of the party of Toledo, and Mondoñedo had a major boundary dispute with Compostela.

herself does not confirm, but the document was prepared by her notary Pedro Vicéntez. Conciliation seems to have been the policy of the day, for the dating formula cites Urraca and her son as rulers in León and in Galicia.[5]

She was still there on March 4, 1121, when another faithful supporter, Count Suero Vermúdez, made a donation to the church of Burgos. It was confirmed by the bishops of León, Astorga, and Palencia, by many of the usual court figures, including Count Pedro González of Lara and his brother, Rodrigo, and by three minor clerics of the church of León. Urraca did not confirm. In this case the dating formula states only that the queen ruled in León.[6]

The queen remained in León as late as April 16, 1121, when another document of Count Fernando Fernández was prepared by her notary Juan Rodríguez. Neither the queen nor any of her bishops confirmed this one but Count Pedro González and her majordomo did, along with a number of other court figures. Urraca and her son are cited as reigning in Spain. The queen may have been preparing a campaign in Galicia at this date, for Count Rodrigo Vélaz, her staunch supporter and master of the territories of Lemos and Sarria, which would lie along her route, also confirmed the document.[7]

After receipt of the letters of Calixtus II threatening excommunication and interdict, Urraca, the "Historia Com-

[5] AD León, Monasterio de Gradefes, no. 19, a roughly contemporary copy.

[6] Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:150-152, from what he believed to be the original in the cathedral archive at Burgos.

[7] Mateo Escagedo Salmón, ed., *Colección diplomática de la insigne y real Iglesia Colegial de Santillana* (Santona, 1927), 1:39-42. The dating formula implies its issuance at León. Marius Ferotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 46-47, publishes a donation of Urraca to that monastery dated April 13, 1121, which must be redated much earlier if it is to be accepted. It is confirmed by Bishop García of Burgos and by Alvar Fáñez, both dead in 1114, and by Muño Gutiérrez as majordomo, who is known to have held that post in 1109 and 1110.

postelana" tells us, reopened negotiations with the archbishop of Compostela. These broke down because of the insufficiency of the royal offers and the intransigence of the prelate. The queen then raised an army and invaded Galicia. She marched to the castle of Cira, not far off the pilgrim road west of Compostela. Then she struck south to Tabeiros and Salnes, where there was a concentration of fisc lands, probably to secure provisions. From there the royal army moved north again toward Compostela, taking up a position on Picosacro barely ten kilometers from the city.

Gelmírez raised an army, as did Count Pedro Froilaz and also the young Alfonso Raimúndez, and took up a position on the lower slopes of the mountain. Following some skirmishing, the archbishop successfully arranged a peace in order to prevent needless bloodshed.[8]

These events are probably to be dated to midspring of 1121, for on May 23 Urraca issued a donation to one of her Galician supporters "in obsidione super Acromonte."[9] It is likely that the reference is to Picosacro but has been garbled in transmission. But it is noteworthy that it is the royal force that appears to be on the offensive and that the document was both confirmed by Alfonso Raimúndez and prepared by his chaplain. We may at least suspect that the concessions made to Alfonso Raimúndez by his mother during the preceding fall had satisfied the former, that by the spring of 1121 he was again collaborating with her, and that the accuracy and veracity of the "Historia Compostelana" are not without lapses.

Whatever the precise sequence of events, peace was made

[8] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:346-349. These occurrences are placed after the invasion of Portugal. Even if the date of June-July 1121 were accepted for that event and the papal letters dated to October 1121, that invasion could hardly have occurred before very late 1121 or even 1122.

[9] Published in Emilio Duro Peña, "El monasterio de San Miguel de Bóveda," *AL* 31 (1977):107-179, from two late copies in the AD Orense. The canon-archivist of the cathedral of Orense suspects that some interpolation may have occurred but accepts the basic document. I would agree.

for the moment. Urraca swore to protect the archbishop's person, his honor, which evidently was restored to him, and to return his castles by Christmastime. The oath is dated simply to 1121.[10] Although he is not mentioned in this connection, the negotiations may have taken place in presence of Cardinal Boso, the papal legate, and Bishop Guido of Lescar, who was traveling with him.

It is certain that in the spring of 1121 the legate attended a council at Compostela and that Urraca, her son, the archbishop of Braga, and the bishops of Oporto, Túy, Orense, Lugo, Mondoñedo, and Segovia were present as well. We are told that two pieces of business were transacted there. First, the election of Sancho of Ávila was scrutinized and afterward he was consecrated to that see. Second, it was decided to hold a national council at Sahagún on August 25 to deal with the problems of the church and the realm.[11] It seems probable that also in this context Archbishop Paio of Braga became a canon of Santiago and regularized the conditions under which he would hold some possessions of Santiago de Compostela in Portugal.[12] In yet another piece of business, it is likely that at this council Bishop Gerald of Salamanca made his obedience to Gelmírez as metropolitan. Gerald had been consecrated in Rome and may have returned in the company of the legate.[13]

All things considered, the situation had developed very favorably for Archbishop Gelmírez. He had secured royal recognition for his candidates at Ávila and Salamanca. He had also retrieved his control over west central Galicia and most of his castles.

But the interests of Teresa of Portugal had been unrepresented; none of her current supporters attended the council.

[10] Flórez, *ES*, 20:349-350. Again, the logical sequence rather than the time sequence may have led the author to place here an oath that actually represented a formal settlement in the late fall of the year.

[11] Ibid., pp. 322-323.

[12] Ibid., pp. 340-341.

[13] Ibid., p. 341.

Having been restored to his honor, Gelmírez was again an enemy, not an ally. The same situation may have obtained for Count Pedro Froilaz, who also does not appear at the council. According to our source, during this time the archbishop laid siege to his own castle at La Coruña to recover it from the hands of Vermudo Froilaz, the count's son.[14]

But the realm was to see much more ominous developments during the summer. It is clear that the accord achieved at the council in Compostela broke down quickly and that a new crisis developed. Although the reasons remain obscure, the result is clear enough. When the council scheduled for August 25, 1121 met in Sahagún, it was supposed to have been composed of "all the bishops and abbots from Burgos to the ocean."[15] Instead it was attended only by the archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Coimbra, Porto, Túy, Orense, Mondoñedo, Salamanca, Oviedo, León, and Segovia. The most prominent supporters of the queen among the episcopacy are absent from a council presided over by a cardinal-legate and to whose convocation Urraca herself had agreed. The primate of Spain was not there, nor were the bishops of Osma, Palencia, and Lugo. Jimeno, bishop-elect of Burgos, was not there even though he was still in need of papal approbation for his consecration. Bishop Pelayo of Astorga was absent as well, but that may be attributable to illness rather than to party persuasion.

Among those in attendance, most had compelling ecclesiastical necessities, and all need not be adjudged willing parties to the aims of Gelmírez and Cardinal Boso. Since Urraca's invasion of Portugal, Archbishop Paio of Braga was a fugitive from Queen Teresa. Gonçalvo of Coimbra and Hugh

[14] Ibid., pp. 356-358. Gonzago de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:128, believes a peace was made between Urraca and Teresa in 1121 that involved the vassalage of the latter and the mutual recognition of the Miño as the boundary between their lands. I can find no evidence to support such a view.

[15] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:323.

of Oporto were still seeking favorable resolution of their boundary dispute. Munio of Mondoñedo was involved in another boundary dispute with Gelmírez. And Bishops Pelayo of Oviedo and Diego of León, as sees directly dependent on Rome, may not have been able to resist the summons of its legate. It is possible also that the bishops of Oviedo, León, and Segovia were there to negotiate on behalf of the queen.

The participants and canons of the council and one of its acts are known to us from Portuguese sources. The terms of settlement of the boundary dispute between Coimbra and Oporto previously laid down at Burgos in 1117 were upheld, and Teresa of Portugal was so informed. The twelve canons dealt with transgressions of church law but "on account of all these evils" an interdict was to be leveled on the entire realm of Spain, to begin on November 11.[16]

Urraca is not mentioned in any of the sources, but she must have been the object of this threat. Such a sanction would advertise her as incompetent and estranged from the church. It would be a virtual invitation to depose her.

But well before August the monarch must have been painfully aware that her only hope lay in appealing to Calixtus II himself against his legate. Cardinal Boso was no impartial negotiator but a friend and virtually a pensioner of Archbishop Gelmírez.[17] It appears that immediately after being appointed legate he had written to Gelmírez asking, in effect, how the latter wished his legatine powers to be used.[18] In fact, the absence of Gelmírez from the council at Sahagún may have been a device to secure at least the appearance

[16] Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttinger*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 177-181.

[17] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:317 and 320. At times the naiveté of the author of the HC is the historian's best resource.

[18] Ibid., p. 332. This letter is separated in the text from Calixtus's letters of October 7, 1120 but undoubtedly was written shortly after them.

of impartial proceedings.[19] In any event, the archbishop was kept informed of what had transpired at Sahagún.[20]

How Pope Calixtus was persuaded to intervene in the affairs of the realm and effectively to set at naught the designs of his legate and the prelate of Compostela is impossible to say. Perhaps the latter was responsible for his own undoing.

The pontiff may have been dismayed by the vigor with which the new archbishop of Santiago de Compostela set about building his province and exercising his legateship for it and the province of Braga. As early as June of 1121, Calixtus acted to support the metropolitan rights of Braga by confirming its authority over the sees of Galicia and Portugal.[21] At the same time he removed Braga from the legatine authority of Gelmírez and reproached the latter for his aggressive proceedings against that church.[22] Whereas the pope indicated his willingness to hear the further claims of both parties, he had administered a major check to the ambitions of the archbishop of Compostela.

Still, that rebuff must have paled to insignificance after the papal action of November 3, 1121. Scarcely a week before the interdict threatened at Sahagún in August would have begun, Calixtus made a sweeping renewal and major extension of the authority of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who had not even attended the council. The pope confirmed the legatine authority of Bernard over all of Spain except the provinces of Braga and Mérida, the latter now transferred

[19] The HC implies that the archbishop was prevented from attending by his seizure by Urraca, but a close examination of the timing of these events will not support that interpretation even if his capture were dated in 1121 rather than 1120; Flórez, *ES*, 20:323-335. It may also be that Gelmírez was sufficiently occupied by his campaign against the son of Count Pedro Froilaz at La Coruña.

[20] Ibid., p. 339.

[21] Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 174-177; undated in J. P. Migne, ed., *PL*, 122 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 163:1299-1300; J-W, 7090; and Ulysse Robert, ed., *Bullaire du Pape Calixti II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 2:235.

[22] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:336, supplies the date 1125 but it is obviously 1121; Robert, *Bullaire*, 1:354-355; Migne, *PL*, 163: 1210-11; J-W, 6911.

to Compostela. Bernard's primatial authority over all of Spain was confirmed as well. But the metropolitan rights of the see of Toledo were not only reaffirmed; they were extended to include the dioceses of León and Oviedo, until then directly dependent on Rome itself.[23]

Coming as they do at this time, the papal letters can be read only as a repudiation of the attempt by Cardinal Boso and Gelmírez to force the abdication of Urraca in favor of her son. They spring from a reconciliation of the pope, the queen, and her son mediated by the Archbishop of Toledo. The confirmation of rights was made at the explicit request of Alfonso Raimúndez. Urraca herself was nowhere mentioned in the letters, and it is best understood that the full confidence of Calixtus reposed in the primate rather than in the queen or her sixteen-year-old son. Bernard was the key to the agreement, and the aged former monk of Cluny was strengthened against the archbishop of Compostela. For that reason, León and Oviedo were subjected to him even at the expense of direct papal authority and certainly also to the diminution of Urraca's influence with them.

Although the papal letters make no reference to it, there is a possibility that Archbishop Bernard effected this extraordinary result by a personal journey to Rome. I can find no indication of his presence at home in peninsular documents between September of 1121 and the following spring. On September 1, 1121 he and the bishops of León and Palencia confirmed a charter of Urraca's daughter the Infanta Sancha to the monastery of San Pedro de las Dueñas. Probably issued at León or Sahagún in the presence of the court, it cited Urraca as ruling León and Alfonso Raimúndez Toledo, and the lay confirmants included Count Pedro of Lara, his brother, Count Rodrigo, and a number of other stalwarts of Urraca's court.[24]

[23] Robert, *Bullaire*, 1:373-377; Migne, *PL*, 163:1222-23; J-W, 6931-34.

[24] AD León, San Pedro de las Dueñas, no. 7, an original, and no. 8, a copy; published in José María Fernández Catón, "Documentos leoneses en escritura visigótica," *AL* 27 (1973):224-226. Urraca herself does not con-

Shortly thereafter, on September 13, 1121, the primate and the bishops of León, Palencia, and Oviedo confirmed a private donation to Sahagún.[25] After that date Bernard is absent from such documents until late the following spring.

No doubt the queen's preoccupation with these matters forced some neglect of the affairs of Castilla. There is a reference to a charter of hers, now lost, granted to the cathedral of Burgos but dated simply to 1121.[26] There is a similar reference also to a charter of hers to the monastery of Oña.[27] But her purported charter to Oña dated July 5, 1121 is hardly creditable. It is, I believe, a forgery modeled on the genuine charter of July 5, 1116.[28] Yet it may record the fact that Urraca was in Castilla during the summer of 1121.

Nevertheless, Alfonso of Aragón appears to have made no attempt in 1121 to capitalize on his former wife's difficulties. Now, as often before, the good sense of Urraca's policy of a vaguely defined truce in the east was demonstrated. Despite its costs, it had left her free from interference by the Aragonese in the affairs of her own realm since 1117. All during this troubled year her husband had devoted himself to consolidation of his own growing kingdom. In February 1121 he was at Montearagón busy with repopula-

firm, conceivably to avoid future legal problems since she was under threat of excommunication.

[25] AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 894, no. 4, a copy.

[26] Francisco de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1719-21), 2:41.

[27] Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:186.

[28] Ibid., pp. 184-186 and 173-175. The confirmants of both charters are the same, with one exception, and appear in the same order. The exception is that the later charter substitutes Bishop Jimeno of Burgos for Bishop Paschal. Unfortunately, in 1121 Bishop-elect Jimeno was still seeking consecration and would continue to do so for some years. A papal letter, dated to March 8, 1121, in which Pope Paschal II authorizes the bishops of Palencia, Oviedo, León, and Salamanca to examine and consecrate Bishop Jimeno, has obvious difficulties. Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:153, assigns it to Pope Calixtus and is not sure of the year of issuance.

tion.[29] By September, however, he had moved ten kilometers west of Burgos to Tardajos, which he was besieging.[30] In the following year, when he became aware of the dramatic growth in the power of his old enemy, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, and in the authority of his young rival for Toledo and the imperial dignity, Alfonso Raimúndez, the Aragonese monarch would be forced to concern himself more forcefully with the affairs of León-Castilla.

As events developed, it was Teresa of Portugal who reacted first. Perhaps as early as the summer of 1121 she had invaded southern Galicia and reappropriated the valley of the Miño. On February 17, 1122 she issued a charter to the inhabitants and to Bishop Diego of Orense. Among the confirmants of that document are the abbot of the monastery of Celanova south of the city, Velasco Muñez, and Counts Fernando and Gómez. The latter are probably Count Fernando Yáñez, señor of Puente Sampayo on the border between the dioceses of Túy and Compostela, and his son-in-law, Count Gómez Núñez, señor of the territory of Toroño, roughly coterminous with the diocese of Túy.[31] It appears that by this date all of southern Galicia had passed into her hands. These magnates, along with Velasco Muñez, had been opponents of Gelmírez and sometimes partisans of Urraca or Alfonso Raimúndez by turns. They had now decided that the Portuguese sovereign would be the surest guarantor of their interests.

Urraca had no choice but to meet this newest challenge

[29] Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 254-255. The date of 1114 given in the text is impossible in view of the citation of Jimeno López as holding Calatayud, for that town was taken only in the summer of 1120. The most likely date is 1121.

[30] José María Lacarra, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):491-492.

[31] AC Orense, I, 9, an original, and three other copies. See Emilio Duro Peña, "Catálogo de documentos reales del archivo de la catedral de Orense, 844-1520," *Miscelánea de textos medievales* (Barcelona, 1972), 1:16; published in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:75-76.

from her half sister. The itinerary of the Leonese monarch is impossible to follow in the fall of 1121 and the early winter of 1122. On February 28, 1122 she issued a charter to the church of Palencia, but in view of events almost immediately subsequent, perhaps it was granted at León. Among the confirmants of the charter were the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of León, Oviedo, Mondoñedo, and Segovia, as well as Count Pedro of Lara and his brother. The donation was made jointly with her son, who also confirmed.[32]

A week after this major gathering of the prelates of the realm, Urraca had moved on, apparently to Lugo. On March 7, 1122 the queen, her son, her daughter Sancha, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela, the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Lugo, and the prior of the monastery of San Zoil in Carrión confirmed the donation to Cluny of the Asturian monastery of San Salvador de Cornellana by Count Suero Vermúdez and his wife. The lay confirmants are a curious mixture of Galicians and Asturians, and the document was prepared by a canon of León.[33]

The most likely interpretation of the document is that Urraca had come to Galicia prepared for either war or peace. Lugo was a city that had long been especially loyal to her, and its bishop was her former chaplain. Moreover, it was only a day's march from Compostela or Orense.

The following day Archbishop Gelmírez celebrated a council of the provinces of Braga and Mérida in his city at the direction of Urraca and her son. These latter, we are told, remained with the bishop of Lugo. In addition to the Bishops Sancho of Ávila and Muño of Mondoñedo, the

[32] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, rollo 1.642, no. 4, a copy; Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-17, fols. 246r-247r; published in Pedro Fernando del Pulgar, *Historia secular y eclesiástica de la ciudad de Palencia* (Madrid, 1680), 1:188-189, and Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas de la casa de los Marqueses de Trocifal* (Madrid, 1656), pp. 8-9 app.

[33] Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:314-317, publishes it from what he believed to be the original in Paris. So far I have been unable to get a reproduction of it.

other prelates who attended the council—Orense, Túy, Coimbra, and Oporto—all came from lands controlled by Teresa of Portugal. Their presence was probably by her leave, and even as her representatives, since the unfortunate archbishop of Braga was unable to attend. He was a refugee from his ruler's wrath and stayed safely in Zamora.[34]

On the other hand, Bishop Gerald of Salamanca, who had been staying with Gelmírez since being expelled from his own see, absented himself from the council just days before it occurred. His presence there would have been most unwelcome to the archbishop of Toledo, who still struggled to retain Salamanca as a suffragan see. Presumably it would have been intolerable also for Alfonso Raimúndez and his mother.[35]

Although the "Historia Compostelana" says nothing about the business of the council except that the diocesan boundaries of Oporto were discussed, I believe that its most important agenda was the negotiation of a peace between Urraca and her sister. It seems, too, that most of the immediate differences between them were resolved, for Teresa was able to move south. On April 5, 1122 she forced a settlement of the old boundary dispute between the sees of Oporto and Coimbra in the presence of the most important of the Portuguese magnates, including those formerly associated with the party of her son.[36] On May 24, 1122 she rewarded her consort, Count Fernando Pérez, in a charter issued together with her son, Alfonso Enríquez, the enmity between the latter two apparently having subsided for the moment.[37] Shortly thereafter she felt strong enough to arrest the archbishop of Braga, who, trusting to the general reconciliation of the times, had returned to his church.[38]

[34] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:359-360.

[35] Ibid. The HC blamed Gerald's expulsion on Alfonso of Aragón, but that is impossible at this date. Alfonso Raimúndez is more likely the offender.

[36] Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 3:136.

[37] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:77.

[38] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:380-381; Migne, *PL*, 163-1255; Robert, *Bullaire*, 2:65; J-W, 6988.

The settlement must have allowed for some sort of condominium of Urraca and Teresa over the valley of the Miño. About this time Bishop Diego of Orense issued a charter to the men of Orense by the grace of Urraca, her son Alfonso Raimúndez, and "Queen" Teresa.[39] Moreover, both the bishops of Orense and Túy as well as the abbot of Celanova were in attendance at Teresa's court and confirmed the charter that she gave to Coimbra on November 3, 1122 in the presence of her son and Count Fernando.[40] Teresa further strengthened her position in the north by marrying her daughter, Urraca, to another of the sons of Count Pedro Froilaz, Vermudo Pérez, and arrangement to which Archbishop Gelmírez was party.[41]

The terms must also have been acceptable to Queen Urraca, for she moved down into Compostela after the council. There she confirmed a charter that her son granted to the Compostelan monastery of San Martín de Pinario on March 22, 1122 in the presence of Count Pedro Froilaz, Archbishop Diego, and the bishops of Ávila and Orense.[42]

[39] AC Orense, Privados, 1, no. 1. Emilio Duro Peña, ed., *Catálogo de los documentos privados en pergamino del archivo de la catedral de Orense, 888-1554* (Orense, 1973), pp. 17-18, calls it an orignal and assigns it to 1122. The document is undated but the circumstances make this date the most likely.

[40] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:79-80, an original.

[41] July 25, 1122; AHN, Clero, carp. 526, no. 5, a *carta de arras* between Vermudo Pérez and the infanta, which Gelmírez confirmed. The marriage is confirmed by later documents as well; see AHN, Sección de Códices, 977B, fols. 126v-127r and 7; published in Pilar Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, ed., *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976), 2:333 and 26.

[42] ARG, Reales, no. 2, a contemporary copy in the Visigothic script, imperfectly preserved, and a later copy in Carolingian. Earlier, in "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):246, n. 23, I believed this to be an original. Subsequent study of the charters of Urraca by the same Martín Peláez has convinced me that it is more likely a contemporary copy; published in *Colección diplomática de Galicia histórica* (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), 1:230-232. No editor is given for this volume.

This charter is significant too for its indication of the changed state of affairs in the realm. Martín Peláez signs it as "curia regis publicus notarius" and so marks his transferal from the chancery of Urraca to the incipient chancery of her son. This is also the first charter that Alfonso Raimúndez issued in four years, if we disregard the very questionable ones of 1119.[43] The young king issued no other charters this year, but a private document of Sahagún, dated December 12, 1122, cites him as ruling in Toledo and Sahagún, indicating his retention of control of the fisc lands around that monastery gained in late 1120.[44]

Within a week Urraca had returned to León. There, on March 27 and 28, 1122, she granted two charters to the church of León. At her court were Alfonso Raimúndez, her daughter Sancha, and the bishops of Mondoñedo, Lugo, Oviedo, Segovia, and Salamanca. The last, Gerald, here makes his final appearance in the documents. He may have come to court to plead his case. The lay confirmants are mostly Leonese.[45]

[43] See ch. 4, notes 72 and 73.

[44] AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 8. Two other charters of this year attributed to him are forgeries: 1122; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.030, nos. 6 and 7; Códices, 105B, fols. 111r-112v, and 1.001B, fols. 43r-45v; published in Narciso Herqueta, "Fueros y cartas-pueblas," *BRAH* 33 (1898):127-128; Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Cartulario de la Iglesia de Santa María del Puerto (Santona)," *BRAH* 74 (1919):448-450; and Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, "Colección diplomática riojana," *Berceo* 11 (1956):355-357. July 1, 1122; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo, 781-1200* (Madrid, 1929), pp. 155-156, and Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1968), pp. 260-261. For the grounds on which I reject them, see my "Chancery of Alfonso VII," pp. 246-247.

A document of Eslonza, dated December 30, 1122, that cites Alfonso as ruling in León and in Toledo must be redated because it also cites Arias as bishop of León some eight years too early; AHN, Clero, carp. 971, no. 8.

[45] March 27, 1122; AC León, no. 1.009; published in Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 36:106-108, and Luis Sánchez Belda, "Notas de diplomática: La confirmación de documentos por los reyes del occidente español," *RABM* 59 (1953): plate 5. March 28, 1122, AC León, no. 1.008, and Tumbo, fol. 98, published in Risco, *ES*, 36:108-109.

Sometime during the next months the queen effected the consecration of Bishop Alo to the vacant see of Astorga.[46] The consecration could have taken place at León, Astorga itself, or quite possibly at Zamora. Archbishop Paio Mendes of Braga, the metropolitan of Astorga, was at this time in Zamora, a refugee from the wrath of Teresa, and he probably officiated. A royal tour of that Portuguese border district would have been expedient, and in 1122 there is a citation to a now lost charter of Urraca and her son to the church of Zamora.[47]

The royal circuit of the districts bordering the emerging realm of Portugal seems to have continued into Galicia. On July 23, 1122 a donation of Archbishop Gelmírez was confirmed by Urraca and her notary Fernando Pérez, as well as by Bishop Muño of Mondoñedo. Virtually every other confirmant was a member of the church of Santiago.[48]

Little more than a month later, on August 28, 1122, the long-standing dispute over diocesan boundaries between Compostela and Mondoñedo was resolved by a compromise. Urraca does not appear as a confirmant in this agreement but it must have required her assent and, probably, her presence to effect.[49]

In any event, on September 2, 1122 a private document of the church of Astorga seems to indicate the presence of the

[46] The earliest document in which Bishop Alo appears is dated December 13, 1122; published in Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 3:53-54. The obedience made by Bishop Alo to Braga is dated 1122 in the Liber Fidei, fol. 153r; see Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), p. 46, no. 1.

[47] Ursicino Alvárez Martínez, *Historia general, civil, y eclesiástica de la provincia de Zamora* (Madrid, 1965), p. 162.

[48] The document, which seems now to have disappeared, was dated most peculiarly. Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 4:65, n. 1, considered it an original, however. Published in *Colección diplomática de Galicia histórica*, pp. 140-141.

[49] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:376-378.

court there. The queen did not confirm it but the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Mondoñedo did, along with Archbishop Gelmírez. The text of this late copy is very rough, but it cites Urraca as ruling all Spain and her son as holding Toledo and Galicia.[50] If it can be relied upon, its reference to Galicia indicates yet another increase in the power, or rather the dignities, of the young Alfonso Raimúndez.

There is no further notice of the queen or her whereabouts until November 11, 1122, when she granted the village of Fresno el Viejo to the Hospitallers.[51] It is certain that at the end of the year she was at León with her court. The confirmations to a private document of León, dated December 13, 1122, establish the presence of the queen, her son Alfonso, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, the bishops of León, Astorga, and Palencia, Count Pedro González, and Urraca's son-in-law, Fernando Fernández.[52]

Without doubt one of the chief concerns of this Christmas court was the activities of Alfonso of Aragón in the latter part of the year. From February through June of 1122 his movements are reasonably easy to trace, from the vicinity of Zaragoza eastward toward Lérida in April, then north in May to receive the homage of Count Centulo of Bigorre, and south again in June to grant a fuero to the men of Puente de la Reina.[53] These are activities suggestive of a monarch consolidating his position in preparation for a major initia-

[50] AHN, Códices, 1195B, fol. 56.

[51] Jean Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894), 1:50, a notice only.

[52] Published in Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, and Uría Ríu, *Peregrinaciones*, 3:53-54, from a document of the AC León.

[53] February 1122; cited in José Ramón Castro, *Catálogo del Archivo General de Navarra, Sección de Comptes, Documentos*, vol. 1, *848-1331* (Pamplona, 1952), pp. 46-47. For his itinerary in April and May, see José María Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), pp. 75-76. Also, May 1122; Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):497-498. June 1122; Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 5 (1952):522-523; and idem, *Vida*, p. 75.

tive, and in all the known documents Alfonso styled himself emperor and claimed the rule of Castilla.

After June the whereabouts of the Aragonese ruler are unknown until, in November, he granted a charter at Olmedo in the trans-Duero, some twenty kilometers east of Medina del Campo and forty-five kilometers south of Valladolid.[54] The following month in the village of Fresno, probably Fresno de la Fuente, some seventy kilometers northeast of Segovia, he made a donation to Bishop Peter of Segovia of lands near that city.[55] In that document, which is a curious mélange of Leonese and Aragonese chancery forms, he styled himself emperor and again claimed the rule of Castilla. Moreover, his supporter Jimeno Jiménez is cited as holding the trans-Duero.[56]

In the late summer of 1122, then, Alfonso of Aragón made a calculated demonstration and perhaps a great raid, or *razzia*, against not the Leonese territories of Urraca but precisely those lands then actively held by Alfonso Raimúndez under the tutelage of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo. He could hardly have expected to maintain himself permanently so far west. More likely he was seeking to strengthen the hand of Urraca in the Leonese kingdom, counting on the ambiguous attitude of her supporters south of the Duero toward the installation of Alfonso Raimúndez, and seeking from the latter and the primate of Toledo some sign of their willingness to continue the détente along the Castilian and Sorian frontier that had prevailed between himself and Urraca since 1117.

His conciliatory attitude is manifest in his issuance of a charter to the church of Segovia, held by Archbishop Bernard's protégé, and in the fact that the charter recognized not only the continuing control of Jimeno López, Urraca's

[54] Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):519-520.

[55] María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I el Batallador y Segovia," *Estudios segovianos* 19 (1967):11-12.

[56] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 305-306.

majordomo, in Soria but also Bernard as Archbishop of Toledo, Peter as bishop of Palencia, and another protégé of the primate, Bernard, as bishop of the yet to be reconquered Sigüenza. These actions bespeak an invitation as much to the council table as to the field of Mars.

It appears that the invitation was accepted and the necessary assurances and guarantees furnished to the king of Aragón, for he does not reappear in the trans-Duero during the reign of Urraca. Nor do any charters later issued by Alfonso I mention any claims to it, with the continuing exception of Soria, although he continued occasionally to use the title of emperor. The indications are, then, that an understanding was reached at the beginning of the year 1123.

First of all, it is possible that at this time such a pact would have been due for renewal. If the original agreement for a truce on the eastern frontier, made in Burgos in 1117, had been for three years and had been renewed for yet another three years in the spring of 1120 after Alfonso's capture of Calatayud, then it had nearly reached its term. Beyond the possibility that its reconsideration was due in any event, the changing balance in León-Castilla between Urraca and her son during late 1121 and 1122 would have made the Batallador much more anxious about his western frontier. Moreover, the Aragonese monarch's central concerns remained the further aggrandizement, consolidation, and repopulation of the realm of Aragón, more than doubled in size by the capture of Zaragoza and subsequent initiatives. His actions during the next three years demonstrate this very clearly.

The much-discussed creation of the Cofradía of Belchite provides indirect testimony to the negotiation of such an understanding. That charter of Alfonso of Aragón, preserved in a later charter of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, was confirmed by Archbishops Bernard of Toledo and Gelmírez of Compostela and by Bishops Raymond of Osma, Bernard of Sigüenza, and Peter of Segovia. It must have been an extraordinary event that brought together five of the prelates

of León-Castilla with the Aragonese ruler and six of his own bishops.[57]

Unfortunately the document does not provide the date of this meeting. Rassow assigned it to the years 1120-1125 on the basis of the presence of Bishop Pedro of Segovia and Archbishop Bernard and thought the date was probably closer to 1120.[58] May of 1123 has been suggested, but at that time Gelmírez was in Galicia, as will presently be shown.[59] The most detailed attempt to date it is the work of Antonio Ubieto Arteta, who places it between February and May of 1122, based finally on the absence of the bishop of Pamplona, who had died in February 1122, and the appearance of his successor in May of the same year.[60] But it is possible to imagine reasons for the absence of a bishop other than the vacancy of the see.

I suggest a date of December 1122 or January 1123. The necessity for important negotiations then has already been established. As will appear, the Leonese bishops who confirm the charter do not seem to have been at Urraca's court in those months. Moreover, if the negotiation entailed some delineation of respective spheres of influence along the southwestern frontier of Aragón with the new appanage of Alfonso Raimúndez in the trans-Duero and Toledo, then the Leonese bishops who were present are just those whom we would expect to find. Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, whose appearance at the court of his longtime enemy is extraordinary indeed, had been the young king's guardian and adviser for years. Archbishop Bernard had recently emerged as the latter's mentor. The bishops of Osma, Sigüenza, and Segovia would have been immediately involved in any agreement

[57] AHN, Clero, carp. 623, no. 11. The document, indisputably an original of Alfonso VII, is dated October 4, 1136, but unfortunately the charter of Alfonso I, which is copied into it, is not dated; published in Peter Rassow, "La cofradía de Belchite," *AHDE* 3 (1926):222-226.

[58] Ibid., p. 210.

[59] Antonio Durán Gudiol, "La Santa Sede y los obispados de Huesca y Roda en la primera mitad del siglo XII," *AA* 13 (1965):81-82.

[60] "La creación de la cofradía militar de Belchite," *EEMCA* 5 (1952):427-434.

regarding the practical disposition of authority in this border district.[61]

It seems likely, then, that an agreement was concluded between Alfonso I of Aragón and Alfonso Raimúndez in late 1122 or early 1123. The interests of the young king were represented chiefly by the primate of Toledo and to a lesser extent by Gelmírez. They agreed to refrain from attacking the hold of the Aragonese on Castilla at Carrión, Castrojeriz, and Burgos, and also on Soria. In return the Batallador agreed not to press his claims in the trans-Duero region or Toledo and, in particular, not to intervene in the Leonese-Castilian reorganization of the eastern reaches of the realm of Toledo. This cleared the way for the campaign there against Sigüenza later in the year that would finally liberate that fortress, and projected episcopate, from Muslim control.

The activities of Alfonso I in the first half of 1123 seem to support the assumption that his concerns in the west had been settled, at least for the time. As early as February he was at the castle of Gardeny, which he had raised near Lérida.[62] He was still there, as were six of the bishops of his kingdom, in May.[63] In undertaking this campaign, which occupied him until midsummer although it proved fruitless, the Aragonese ruler ran the risk of conflict with Count Ramón Berenguer III of Barcelona, who had his own designs on the city.[64] Such an initiative is more understandable if he was indeed assured of peace with León.

[61] The only remaining objection to such a dating rests on the confirmation of Abbot Raymond of Leire, whose death Ubieto Arteta places in September 1122; ibid., p. 429. But the evidence for that chronology seems slender.

[62] AHN, Códices, 595B, fol. 58; published in Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):520.

[63] Published in Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):498; Agustín Ubieto Arteta, "Documentos reales del archivo catedralicio de Calahorra," *Berceo* 83 (1972):219; and Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja* (Logroño, 1976), 2:127-128.

[64] José María Lacarra, "La reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Saragossa, 1951), pp. 59-60.

On January 19, 1123 Urraca herself was still in or near León and made two exchanges of properties with its bishop. No bishops confirmed these documents but Alfonso Raimúndez did, indicating that he continued in the court of his mother at this time. Besides Count Pedro of Lara, the lay confirmants are Leonese nobles. The brothers Jimeno and Lope López are not present and, indeed, do not reappear in the charters of Urraca. In the place of the latter Guter Pérez confirms as majordomo.[65] Once again there is a hint of the slow shift in the allegiance of officials and magnates from mother to son and heir that emerges in these years. By the fall of the year Lope López appears as the alférez of Alfonso Raimúndez.

Again this year the queen demonstrated the importance that she attached to maintaining her position in Galicia by visiting that province during late winter. As usual she depended in these visits on her considerable local support there; a private document of León, dated February 24, 1123, reveals that most of the important lay figures of her government were still there even though Urraca had apparently already left.[66]

On March 8, 1123 she was at Lugo, where she confirmed a private donation to that church. Except for her former majordomo, Fernando Muñoz, she was surrounded by the magnates of Galicia, including Count Pedro Froilaz and his sons.[67] Her own son seems not to have been with her.

She was, of course, in a city almost invariably loyal to her since 1112 under its bishop, her former chaplain. She seems also to have been fortified by the support of Pope Calixtus.

[65] AC León, nos. 1.010, 1.011, 1.012, and 1.013, all copies. AC León, nos. 994 and 1.014, both copies. There are some problems with the dating formulas of these documents and different copyists have chosen different readings. They are based on at least one original, and I suspect that Bishops Pelayo of Oviedo and Alo of Astorga did confirm although later scribes were not sure they did.

[66] AD León, Gradefes, no. 20.

[67] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.325C, no. 11.

It is possible to see the papal approval of her policy of the past year in the confirmation of the possessions of the church of Lugo and the extension of papal protection to that see on February 5, 1123.[68] The same sort of approval for the developing cooperation of mother and son may also be reflected in the pontiff's confirmation of the rights and the possessions of the church of Segovia on April 9, 1123, at the request of Urraca's son.[69]

In any event, the Leonese queen felt strong enough to make major changes in this outlying and troublesome province. Even the author of the "Historia Compostelana" admits that Galicia was part of her domain at this time and that her son was effectively under her control. According to the story from that source, Urraca imprisoned Count Pedro Froilaz and his sons and moved to reclaim their honors. When she did this is not made clear, but it was probably subsequent to the date of the charter of March 8. Then she reaffirmed and renewed her alliance with Archbishop Gelmírez by a pact dated March 27, 1123. This agreement was confirmed by the bishops of Mondoñedo and Astorga and by her consort, Count Pedro González of Lara.[70]

It appears that the queen spent the remainder of the spring and summer in Galicia reestablishing her authority. On May 18, 1123 she exchanged some territories with Gelmírez in the presence of the bishops of Mondoñedo, Lugo, Túy, and Orense, and large numbers of her Galician supporters.[71] The attendance of the bishops of Orense and Túy suggests that she had once again materially strengthened her hold on the lands of the Miño valley. On the other hand, her half sister

[68] AC Lugo, Tumbo viejo, fol. 39.

[69] Migne, *PL*, 163:1290-91; Robert, *Bullaire*, 2:186-187; J-W, 7061.

[70] Flórez, *ES*, 20:381-385.

[71] AC Santiago, Tumbo A, fol. 33v; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:6-7 app. Other copies in Tumbo C, fols. 203r and 207r. Her son seems to have been thirty kilometers south of Astorga at Castrocalbón on May 26, 1123. There is a notice of a donation made to a monastery there. AHN, Sección de consejos, legajo 16.022, fol. 1.

Teresa of Portugal had mended her own stormy relations with the archbishop of Braga, who had confirmed the Portuguese monarch's charters of November 3, 1122 and January 8, 1123.[72]

Urraca may not have returned to León until late September; at least, a now lost document of hers, dated September 21, 1123, recorded an exchange of lands with a monk of the monastery at Foncebadón, which lay in the west of the diocese of Astorga on the pilgrimage road from Compostela.[73] On October 7, 1123 a private document of Sahagún indicates the presence of the court there, including the primate, the bishops of León and Palencia, Count Pedro González, and a good number of her regular supporters, although the queen herself did not confirm it.[74]

She seems to have spent about a month in the vicinity of León, no doubt preparing for the forthcoming campaign against Sigüenza. She may also have effected the consecration of Muño to the episcopate of Salamanca, for his name begins to appear in the documents shortly afterward. On November 4 and 5, 1123 she made two donations to the see of León, which her son confirmed; the latter of these shows the bishops of Astorga and Oviedo present.[75] This second document is also remarkable for the confirmation of one "Fernandus Petri minor filius," whom I take to be Urraca's son by Count Pedro González. It is a sign of the solidity of the queen's position in the realm that there could be such public recognition of her son by this union.

Under the circumstances of the time, however, such recognition raised no question as to her proper, designated heir.

[72] Azevado, *DMP*, 1:79-80 and 80-81.

[73] Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense* (Astorga, 1907), 2:185.

[74] Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasteria de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 515-516.

[75] November 4, 1123; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 99v, published in Risco, *ES*, 36:110. November 5, 1123; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 98r, and Libro de los Testamentos, fol. 215r, published in Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, and Uría Ríu, *Peregrinaciones*, 3:54-55.

On October 29, 1123, at court, Alfonso Raimúndez had granted a charter to one of his mother's most faithful supporters, Bishop Raymond of Osma. It was confirmed by Urraca herself, by the primate, by the bishops of Segovia, Sigüenza, and Zamora, by Count Pedro of Lara, and by that important magnate of the Toledan realm, Fernando Garciaz of Hita.

This charter is most important, for it shows the young monarch for the first time surrounded by what may be called a full court of his own. Melendo Bofino, of Portuguese or Galician extraction, appears as his majordomo and Lope López of Rioja as his alférez.[76]

By November 11, 1123 the preparations for the Sigüenza campaign were already under way, and Urraca's charter of that date to the bishop of Segovia was probably granted in the latter city. It shows the queen accompanied by Bernard of Toledo and the bishops of Palencia, Osma, Sigüenza, León, Astorga, Salamanca, and Zamora. Count Pedro González, Count Suero Vermúdez, and Fernando Garciaz figure among the lay confirmants. Perhaps a result of the dislocations in the royal entourage growing out of the necessities of organizing the campaign, this is one of the two charters of Urraca prepared by William of Narbonne.[77]

[76] AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 55v. The partly illegible subscription of the scribe, Pelagius, seems to indicate the earliest known use of the title of chancellor by the chancery of Alfonso VII, but it may be an interpolation.

Two other charters of Alfonso VII for 1123 may be dismissed quickly for present purposes. December 11, 1123; AHN, Clero, carp. 273, no. 4; published in Alamo, *Colección de Oña*, 1:188-189; and in Filemón Arribas Arranz, *Paleografía documental hispánica*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1965), 1:51-52, with a plate in 2:21. The document is clearly a forgery as Peter Rassow, "Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfonso VII von Spanien," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1928):416, long ago recognized. March 28, 1123; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), p. 44, from an eighteenth-century copy, should be dated to 1127. See Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," p. 251.

[77] Published in Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70) 1:230-231, and Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I," pp. 54-55. A purported charter of Alfonso Raimúndez

From Segovia the court proceeded to Toledo, where on November 30, 1123 Urraca made the very generous donation of a tenth of the income of the possessions of the fisc in Toledo and its territories to Archbishop Bernard. She was surrounded by the bishops of Palencia, Osma, Sigüenza, León, Salamanca, Zamora, Oviedo, and Segovia, Count Pedro González of Lara and his brother, Rodrigo, Count Suero Vermúdez, Fernando Garciaz of Hita, a number of magnates now associated with her son's court, and others of the church and city of Toledo. The size of the gathering indicates the scope of the effort against Sigüenza, and the interest in it of Pope Calixtus himself may be reflected in the confirmation of the document by his chaplain, Bonetus. On the preceding day Alfonso Raimúndez had made a similar donation of a tenth of his income in Toledo to the cathedral.[78]

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that donates exactly the same properties in exactly the same language to Bishop Pedro is also published by Martín Postigo, pp. 56-57. Indeed, the major differences are that the list of confirmants in the latter includes Lope López and Melendo Bofino and that Bishop Bernard of Sigüenza appears as notary of the young king. Also, it is dated only to 1123 in the published form.

I now regard the charter of Alfonzo Raimúndez as a forgery based on that of Urraca, probably suggested to the chartulary's scribe by very similar charters of Urraca and Alfonso to the church of Toledo that he could well have known. The alternative would be to accept that, given the absence of strict norms for the redaction of such charters at the time, two different scribes chose exactly the same language and that Urraca and her son exercised some sort of condominium in the realm. Taking the more reasonable assumption that one was later fabricated on the basis of the other, it seems inherently more likely that a later scribe would have had more reason to attribute the grant to the powerful and successful Alfonso VII rather than to the troubled and embattled Urraca. Because neither charter was prepared by a regular member of the chancery of either the queen or her son, an appeal to their respective norms is, unfortunately, of no avail.

The fact that both charters concern themselves in part with a property donated by Alfonso of Aragón the preceding December does not raise the same sort of problem. That the bishop of Segovia should seek a better permanent title than the latter could bestow is quite reasonable. See the following note for two closely related charters of Toledo.

[78] November 30, 1123; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 11; BN, Sección de

Of the events attendant on the capture of Sigüenza nothing is known except that by the last week of January 1124 it had passed into Christian hands.[79] On February 1, 1124 Urraca endowed the bishopric there with portions of her income from Atienza and Medinaceli.[80]

It is difficult to estimate which realm had profited more from the Leonese reconquest of Sigüenza. Without at least the tacit assent of Alfonso of Aragón it would hardly have been possible; that city, in Christian hands, erected yet one more obstacle on the old road of Muslim advance from Cór-

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Manuscritos, 13.093, fols. 48r-50r; AC Toledo, I.7.G.1.4, and Códices, 42-23, fol. 3r. November 29, 1123; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 10; BN, Manuscritos, 13.075, fols. 34r-36v, and 13.093, fols. 43r-46r; AC Toledo, I.7.G.1.4. The charter of Urraca was prepared by William of Narbonne and that of Alfonso by Bishop Bernard of Sigüenza, styling himself royal chaplain.

Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *Patrimonio y señorio de Santa María de Toledo desde el 1086 hasta el 1208* (Toledo, 1974), pp. 128-130, treats the two charters as donations of identical rights over the same properties, but I believe it is crucial that only Urraca's charter mentions the "regalium," which may indicate that she maintained control of the fisc lands there. It also seems to me that Alfonso's charter, unlike that of Segovia earlier the same month, can be regarded as independent. Its language is largely distinctive. Unfortunately, the original of neither charter has survived.

[79] Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (Madrid, 1910), 1:57, and Francisco Layna Serrano, *Historia de la villa de Atienza* (Madrid, 1945), p. 51. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Los primeros años de la diócesis de Sigüenza," *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, 1962), 1:139-144, makes an argument from indirect evidence for the reconquest of the town in 1121 or 1122 by Alfonso I of Aragón. He calls the charter of Urraca of February 1, 1124 a "Pseudo-original" and would redate Alfonso Raimúndez's charter of November 1, 1124 to 1127. Urraca's charter is certainly not an original but there is no good reason for considering it a forgery. Alfonso's charter cannot be redated to 1127, for it is confirmed by Bishop Raymond of Osma, who was by the later date archbishop of Toledo.

As for an earlier conquest of Sigüenza, Alfonso of Aragón's charters make no mention of the city and its bishop. The Aragonese monarch never made official claim to it in the fashion in which he did to Zaragoza.

[80] AC Sigüenza, legajo 1, no. 7, and Libro Antiguo, fol. 27r; BN, Manuscritos, 13.073, fols. 163r-164r; published in Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de Sigüenza*, 1:347-348.

doba toward his new conquests on the plain of the Ebro. On the other hand, although Atienza, Medinaceli, and Sigüenza in the control of Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez closed the gap east of the Guadarramas leading north into his lands around the Ebro, they just as firmly sealed off his own prospects of expansion southwest of the Sierra de Albarracín. His consent to that eventuality registers his own estimate that opportunities for aggrandizement were better to the east in Lérida and in the southeast toward Valencia. In any case, he still needed to be concerned primarily with repopulation of his recent extensive conquest, as his activities in the next few years show.

Also implicit in this stance, however, was the surrender of the imperial title. Without access to the imperial city of Toledo, he could hardly maintain that claim. Without the imperial title, the Aragonese right to continue in the possession of Soria and Burgos, even perhaps the Rioja, was seriously weakened. So the events of late 1123 and early 1124 did much more than strengthen the eastern flank of the realm of Toledo, to which the Muslim position at Cuenca now became the most advanced threat. In fact, they pointed to the Peace of Tamara in 1127 and the recovery of Burgos, Soria, and of the imperial title.

Somewhat less directly, these events effected the exclusion of Aragón from the central meseta and the consolidation there of the hegemony of León-Castilla. Eventually the concessions of Alfonso I in 1123 were to be as fateful as those of Urraca had been in 1117. Both delimited decisively the possible frontiers of León-Castilla and of Aragón. In both cases, a practical assessment of relative strengths resulted in a basically sound political decision. Neither monarch was likely to have been unaware of the strategic options that he or she surrendered. Yet both chose a realistic stance based on the strength of what they disposed of and on the necessity for internal consolidation. In 1117 Urraca opted to hold Castilla and forgo Zaragoza. In 1123 Alfonso I opted to hold Zaragoza and forgo Toledo.

SIX

THE END OF THE REIGN AND THE ACCESSION OF ALFONSO VII (1124-1126)

THE preoccupation of Alfonso el Batallador with purely Aragonese affairs continued until the death of his former wife, roughly two years after the reconquest of Sigüenza. The status quo in León-Castilla apparently satisfied the monarch of Aragón, for despite some provocation he busied himself almost exclusively with attempts at rounding out his newly swollen realm southward and eastward and, in 1125-1126, with a major effort at its repopulation out of the dissatisfied Mozárab minority of Granada.

In February of 1124 Alfonso was first in old Aragón at Sos,[1] then south almost at the limits of his new lands at Daroca,[2] but by March he had passed into the Castilian border district of Rioja, which was to preoccupy him for the next four months.[3] In July 1124 he issued a charter there while besieging the castle of Haro.[4] That fortress was the stronghold of Diego López, señor of Vizcaya and Alava as well,

[1] Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), p. 414.

[2] AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 712, no. 4; published in José María Lacarra, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):524-525. Idem, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), p. 80, places him in Daroca into March.

[3] Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," p. 522.

[4] Published in Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 3:55. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Sobre un tratado de paz entre Alfonso el Batallador y Alfonso VII," *BRAH* 111 (1942):115-131, argued that a formal peace was concluded in August of 1124. José María Lacarra, "Alfonso el Batallador y las paces de Támara," *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):461-473, maintains that the date of 1127 is preferable and I agree.

and the old rebel of 1116. The insurrection was potentially serious and indicated the continuing preference for the house of León-Castilla among the great magnates of that region. Diego López had figured in the early documents of Urraca, and she or her son may have discreetly encouraged his plans in 1124.[5]

By sometime in August that unrest had ceased to be sufficiently serious to detain Alfonso in the Rioja, and he was at Tudela on the way south.[6] During September and October he was far from Castilla, strengthening his frontier at the key fortress of Monreal de Campo south of Daroca and busy encouraging repopulation just to the north of the latter.[7] At the end of the year, back in Zaragoza, Alfonso was still addressing the repopulation of the plain south of that city.[8] Nevertheless, his hold on eastern Castilla remained firm. A document of Palencia, dated only to 1124, acknowledged that he ruled in Castrojeriz, Carrión, and Burgos.[9] A document of Burgos dated July 18, 1124 cited his rule there and in Nájera in the Rioja.[10]

The largely passive character of the Aragonese occupation of eastern Castilla had few effects on events in León-Castilla during 1124. The Batallador's concerns in Aragón proper had none at all. In Urraca's realm the year seems characterized chiefly by further development of the cooperation be-

[5] See Gregorio de Balparda y las Herrarias, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y de sus fueros*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1924 and Bilbao, 1933-34), 2:293-294 and 305-308; also, José Antonio Vicuña Ruiz, "La Rioja, tierra de contacto entre los reinos hispanos, 923-1134," *Berceo* 81 (1971):145-146.

[6] Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):504-506.

[7] Ibid., *EEMCA* 3 (1947-48):524, and 5 (1952):535. Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 81.

[8] Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 82; also idem, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):506-507; 5 (1952):536; and María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, "La carta puebla de María del Huerva otorgado por Alfonso el Batallador," *EEMCA* 9 (1973):455-461.

[9] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.740, no. 15.

[10] Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:157-158. Serrano also gives a document, dated February 19, 1124, that cites him as ruler of Castilla, León, Toledo, and Galicia. The latter is obviously misdated.

tween mother and son first set in train in the late fall of 1121. Initially, the activities of the year found their focus in a council held at Valladolid and presided over by the papal legate, Cardinal Deusdedit.

Many considerations prompted the dispatch of a legate at the end of 1123. The renewal of the understanding between León-Castilla and Aragón must have raised hopes that the consecration of a bishop for Burgos, which had been waiting since 1119, was finally possible. The dispute between Archbishop Bernard of Toledo and the new Bishop Alo of Astorga over disposition of the diocese of Zamora was an inconvenience for Urraca, who needed a strong and stable authority in that outpost on the Portuguese frontier. The quarrel between Archbishops Bernard and Gelmírez over control of the diocese of Salamanca was threatening to become a general confrontation with a large potential for political disruption. And, finally, Archbishop Gelmírez was working assiduously to secure the permanent transfer of the metropolitanate of Mérida to Compostela. The transfer of 1120 had been merely a temporary one, pending the reconquest of Mérida from the Muslim.

The "Historia Compostelana" describes the arrival of Cardinal Deusdedit in the peninsula. As usual, the author is concerned with three different topics, which he pursues thematically, so that the chronology must be carefully reconstructed. The cardinal left Rome in late 1123, probably about the end of November, and probably arrived in Burgos in early January.[11] Here, our source says, he found consecration of the bishop to be impossible because of the hostility of Alfonso of Aragón and decided to proceed to Santiago de Compostela.

There the cardinal spent eight days before proceeding to

[11] Calixtus's letter of November 29, 1123 reaffirming Gelmírez's legation in the provinces of Mérida and Braga may well have been entrusted to him. Enrique Flórez, ed., *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:394. See also Gerhard Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des* XII *Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 40-41.

Braga, and discussed Gelmírez's possible consecration of the bishop of Burgos, among other matters. After his swing through Portugal the legate returned to central León and held a council of Valladolid.[12] For a variety of reasons the most likely date of this council seems to be the second or third week of February.

When the legate arrived in Burgos the Sigüenza campaign was still in progress. It is just possible that Urraca's charter to that city on February 1, 1124 was issued in the council but I suspect not. Rather, it is probable that Urraca's charters of February 12, 1124 to the monastery of San Román de Hornija in Bierzo[13] and of February 17, 1124 to Bishop Bernard of Zamora[14] were issued at the council or in the gathering that preceded or succeeded it. The only surviving document of the council itself is undated. That document is a decision of the legate that, while Bishop Bernard of Zamora lives, he will enjoy the untroubled administration of his see, but that on his death it will be absorbed by the church of Astorga. It is confirmed by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, the bishops of Osma, Segovia, Sigüenza, Salamanca, Zamora, Palencia, Orense, Ávila, Coimbra, and Oporto, and by the representative of the archbishop of Braga.[15]

The participation of Braga was important to a resolution of the dispute over Zamora because the diocese of Astorga was Braga's suffragan. Also, the matter of to whom Coimbra was suffragan was again discussed, and both Braga and Toledo seem to have lost. In the spring of the year, Coimbra was directed by Calixtus II to recognize Compostela as metropolitan.[16]

[12] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:414-416.

[13] AHN, Clero, carp. 3.444, no. 9, a late copy.

[14] AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fols. 20v-21r; and BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 714, fol. 168v.

[15] Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 181-183.

[16] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:410.

On another front Bernard of Toledo did slightly better. Bishop Muño of Salamanca, whom he had consecrated and whose election he had probably arranged as well, was recognized, although in June the pope would reaffirm that Salamanca was suffragan to Compostela.[17]

It is certain that the resolution of the matter of Burgos was discussed. The council agreed to the consecration of Bishop-elect Jimeno and, probably, to his consecration by Gelmírez. From Valladolid the cardinal-legate and Jimeno proceeded to Sepúlveda. There the cardinal gave Jimeno a letter of authorization directing Gelmírez to preside at his consecration.[18] Although the reason for this delay is not specified in our source, I believe it likely that it was to consult with representatives of Alfonso of Aragón and to secure their consent.

It is possible as well that the Peace of God was proclaimed by the council. The evidence is not unequivocal but it seems to suggest as much.

A striking feature of the Council of Valladolid was the absence of Archbishop Gelmírez and all the bishops of Galicia, with the sole exception of the bishop of Orense. Given the circumstances, their absence appears to have been intentional and was probably prearranged with Cardinal Deusdedit so that Archbishop Gelmírez would have the opportunity to hold his own provincial council to promulgate for Galicia the canons of Valladolid, thus emphasizing his independence of Toledo once again.

And Gelmírez did call a council for the middle of Lent in 1124, about March 15.[19] Archbishop Bernard, however, on being notified of his intentions wrote a scathing letter forbidding the holding of such a council, implying that the bishop of Salamanca was improperly summoned to it, arguing that Ávila was suffragan to Toledo, and, finally, summoning Gelmírez to León after Easter to make satisfaction under

[17] Ibid., pp. 409-410.
[18] Ibid., pp. 416-417.
[19] Ibid., pp. 395-396.

pain of excommunication. To all of this the archbishop of Compostela replied in kind. He defended his consecration of the bishop of Ávila, reasserted his claim to Salamanca as suffragan, and argued his own freedom of action as ordinary of an exempt see and as papal legate.[20]

But did Archbishop Gelmírez actually hold the council contemplated? The "Historia Compostelana" says that he did, and the major authorities have accepted that assertion. The bishops of Astorga, Mondoñedo, Ávila, Lugo, Salamanca, and Túy are said to have been present, along with Alfonso Raimúndez and almost all the magnates of Galicia. The source does not say what they did but does claim that the archbishop of Braga and the bishop of Coimbra were condemned afterward for nonattendance.[21]

The major reason for doubting that the council of March 15 was in fact held is that yet another council was held at Compostela on April 20, 1124. It was attended by the bishops of Astorga, Mondoñedo, Lugo, Salamanca, Zamora, Oporto, and Túy. Three days later, on the advice of the council, Bishop Jimeno was consecrated to the see of Burgos, but our source states that this was not the reason for holding the council.[22]

It seems at least possible, then, that the council of mid-

[20] Ibid., pp. 403-409.

[21] Ibid., pp. 395-396. Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington, D.C., 1949), pp. 179-180, believes that such a council actually met, as does Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 4:79. Another reason to doubt the HC's account is that Urraca's son granted a fuero to Santa Olalla on April 6, 1124 at Toledo. See Alfonso García-Gallo, "Los fueros de Toledo," *AHDE* 45 (1975):463.

[22] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:416-419. Indeed, there is a further chronological problem about the date of his consecration. In a private document of August 8, 1124, AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 1.727, fols. 6r-7v, Jimeno of Burgos confirms as bishop-elect. The most likely explanation is that this document is misdated in the late copy that survives. Säbekow, *Legationen*, pp. 40-41, puts the legate back in Rome by June 1124.

March was never held but that the author of the "Historia Compostelana" has confused it with that of April 20. The decree concerning the Peace of God, which was promulgated in the latter, then becomes explicable as a repetition of the action of the Council of Valladolid. The fact that the decree was addressed to the entire realm of Spain has long been noted. It was therefore more properly the work of a legate to the entire peninsula than of a legate in two of its provinces. The political sense of Gelmírez might have led him to present it as his action, suppressing any reference to Valladolid or Cardinal Deusdedit, but more probably his biographer chose this as a way to enhance the dignity of his subject.[23]

It is certain that the council of Compostela in April of 1124 was a triumph for Archbishop Gelmírez. It underlined his influence at Rome, as with the cardinal-legate. That influence was once more to be demonstrated in June, when Calixtus granted permanent transference of the metropolitanate of Mérida to Compostela and again awarded the sees of Salamanca and Coimbra to his church.[24] At the same time, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo was not completely humiliated. He kept his suffragan at Zamora for the present and also maintained his candidate in the see of Salamanca. Nor was it in the interests of Urraca to allow too full a triumph to the Compostelan, although she must have enjoyed seeing the primate humbled ever so slightly. She and her son had been mediating the dispute between the two archbishops and probably had much to say about the solution in the spring of 1124.[25] Our source also admits that Urraca continued to enjoy the support and assistance of Alfonso of Aragón.[26]

The arming of Alfonso Raimúndez by Archbishop Gel-

[23] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:416–419.

[24] Ibid., pp. 402–403 and 409–410. Ulysse Robert, ed., *Bullaire du Pape Calixti II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 2:330–333; J. P. Migne, ed., *PL*, 122 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 163:1321–23; J-W, 7160–62.

[25] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:407.

[26] Ibid., p. 400.

mírez at Santiago de Compostela on Pentecost, May 25, 1124, must be viewed in light of these facts. The "Historia Compostelana" speaks of an estrangement between Urraca and her son just then but does not present the event as one of rebellion. Rather, the tone of the author suggests that neither prelate nor heir could afford to offend the queen.[27] Indeed, it is most likely that the arming of her son, an act that signalized the entrance of a young king into his majority during this period, was by permission of Urraca.

From the description of the ceremony it does not appear that Urraca herself was present. Nor, in two donations made less than a week later at Compostela, does Alfonso Raimúndez appear in the presence of anyone of note.[28] It is impossible to be sure just where the queen was at this time.

A month before the arming of Alfonso both he and his mother may have been at Astorga, possibly on their way to Galicia. On April 27, 1124 both had confirmed a private document of that church.[29] After that the documentary record fails for Urraca. Her charter donating the monastery of San Fausto of Trevino to Cluny is dated merely to 1124.[30] So, too, is a notice of a donation of hers to the Asturian monastery of Corias. A notice of her confirmation of a private document of Palencia, dated August 8, 1124, if it could be relied upon would place the queen and her curia in that city.[31]

[27] Ibid., p. 396.

[28] May 31, 1124; AC Santiago, Tumbo C, fol. 113r; and BN, Manuscritos, 7.472, fol. 41; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:7-9 app. The list of confirmants to this donation to the church of Compostela has not survived. May 31, 1124; AC Santiago, Tumbo A (copy), fol. 110. This donation to one Muño Tacón was confirmed only by Gelmírez and some of the clergy of Compostela.

[29] AHN, Sección de Códices, 1.195B, fol. 84.

[30] AHN, Códices, 105B, fols. 128r-129r; published in Juan Antonio Llorente, ed., *Noticias históricas de las provincias vascongadas, Alava, Guipúzcoa, y Vizcaya*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1806-08), 4:30-32, and Julián Cantera Orive, "Un cartulario de Santa María de Real de Nájera del año 1209," *Berceo* 15 (1960):37-38.

[31] Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El libro registro de Corias*, 2 vols.

On June 3, 1124 the daughter of the late Count Pedro Ansúrez made a donation to Cluny confirmed by Archbishop Bernard, the bishops of Palencia, Osma, and Segovia, and written by Petrus Vicéntez, canon of Palencia.[32] Urraca does not confirm and seemingly was not present, although these bishops were among the strongest of her supporters and Petrus Vicéntez is the name of one of her most active notaries. On June 23, 1124 her daughter Sancha also made a donation to Cluny, but again Urraca seems not to have been present.[33]

To conclude from this evidence that Urraca had retired from active governance of the realm in favor of her son would be unwarranted, however. Only three charters of Alfonso Raimúndez are known for this year. On April 6, 1124 he apparently issued a fuero to Santa Olalla, in the territory of Toledo.[34] On November 1, 1124 he made a donation to the see of Sigüenza confirmed by Bernard of Toledo and the bishops of Segovia, Osma, Zamora, and Palencia, by Count Fernando Fernández, husband of Urraca's half sister, the Infanta Elvira, and by a Count Bertran, probably Bertran of Carrión, the cousin of Alfonso of Aragón.[35] Urraca does

(Oviedo, 1950), 1:14; and Alonso Fernández de Madrid, *Silva palentina*, 3 vols. (Palencia, 1932-42), 3:10. The latter says that Urraca confirmed the document. However, the modern copy, AHN, Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 1.727, fols 6r-7v, lists the confirmations of most of her curia but not that of the queen herself.

[32] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fol. 294.

[33] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 283v-284v; published in Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Receuil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:327-328, from what he styled the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; in Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 132; and in Fidel Fita, "San Miguel de Escalada: Documento apócrifo del siglo XII, auténticos del XIII," *BRAH* 32 (1898):28. The last believed the document false largely because it cites Bernard as Archbishop of Toledo and Fita wrongly dated his death to April 1124. The subscriptions to the document are somewhat confused in the copies, but it appears that the bishop of Palencia, León, and Oviedo confirmed. So did Alfonso Raimúndez but probably subsequently.

[34] See note 21.

[35] BN, Manuscritos, 13.073, fols. 165r-166v; published in Toribio Min-

not confirm. For late December there is notice of a donation of her son to the church of Segovia.[36] Four other of his charters sometimes attributed to this year are either forgeries or misdated.[37]

Rather, it appears that the actual state of affairs is best described by a private document of Palencia, dated simply to 1124, which reads "regnante rex adefonsus in castro et carrione et in burgos, Urraka regina in legione, filius suis aldefonso in toletula."[38] Private documents of June 20, 1124[39] and November 5, 1124[40] cite Urraca as ruling in León and Alfonso Raimúndez in Toledo and the trans-Duero. In other words, the practical control of the realm remained divided between them as it had since 1117, although we may presume that the failing health of the very elderly Archbishop Bernard of Toledo was placing the actual administration of the lands south of the Duero in the hands of the young king for the first time.

The charter of the Infanta Sancha of June 23 and a private document of León dated June 30, 1124 demonstrate that the command of that royal city and the fortresses of the Leonese countryside remained firmly in the hands of faithful supporters of the queen.[41] It is to be expected that by this time all but the most intransigent of these would have been reaching some degree of accommodation with the young king. Nineteen years old and heir to the realm, he must have been more rapidly becoming the political nexus of the kingdom.

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güella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (Madrid, 1910), 1:349-350, from a purported original in the archive of that cathedral.

[36] Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70), 1:112-13.

[37] See Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):248-249 and n. 35 for the forgeries; and pp. 252-253, n. 60 for those incorrectly dated.

[38] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.740, no. 15.

[39] AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 13.

[40] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral* (Madrid, 1906), pp. 31-36.

[41] AC León, no. 1.386.

It is possible that Urraca spent the better part of the summer and fall of 1124 in Galicia. That would account for her absence from documents prepared, presumably, in the center of the kingdom and would also accord with what had frequently been her past practice. The narrative of the "Historia Compostelana" indicates that local unrest continued in that region but neither specifies the dates nor testifies to her presence.[42]

The evidence is clear that once again her half sister Teresa of Portugal was making heavy inroads into the western domains of the Leonese queen. A charter of the Portuguese sovereign to Braga on July 25, 1124 seems to indicate her presence in the north.[43] The suggestion has been made that Teresa and Urraca were drawing together against the threat represented to each by the young Alfonso Raimúndez. That thesis, however, misconstrues the relationship between the young king and his mother at the time and adduces in evidence a charter universally recognized as false.[44]

Instead, the Portuguese monarch was using the problems of her sister in Galicia to aggrandize herself. After Urraca arrested Count Pedro Froilaz in the spring of 1123 that old foe never reappeared in the documents. Immediately after her demise, his sons made their obedience to the young Alfonso VII at Zamora.[45] Apparently Count Pedro remained a prisoner as long as Urraca lived and those of his sons who

[42] Flórez, *ES*, 20:388-394, would redate at least the conclusion of this affair from 1124 to 1123, but he does so against the clear evidence of the manuscript tradition.

[43] Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:82-83.

[44] Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:140, advances this interpretation. The charter is dated August 21, 1124; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.481, no. 3; published in Azevado, *DMP*, 1:84-85.

[45] Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 8-9. José Campelo, ed., *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Manuel Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), p. 423, n. 1, says that the count died in 1128 but does not support the assertion. Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez*, p. 204, does the same.

remained at liberty were confirmed in their support of Teresa by that fact.[46]

It is difficult to ascertain how much this coalition was able to accomplish. Perhaps it was substantial enough to function as a remote cause for the liberties guaranteed to the citizens of Compostela by Archbishop Gelmírez in January of 1125.[47] Broader political currents had caused the revolt of his restive townsmen before and would again. By September of 1125 Teresa had made sufficient progress to undertake an important new initiative. Her charters of September 2 and 4, 1125 made the see of Túy the administrative center for much of northern Portugal between the Limia and Miño. In return Bishop Alfonso of Túy pledged himself and his successors to recognize the rule of Teresa. The documents were confirmed by Count Fernando Pérez, son of Pedro Froilaz, by a Count Gómez, probably Gómez Núñez, who controlled the territory of Toroño roughly coterminous with the territory of the diocese of Túy, and by Fernando Juanes, the latter's son-in-law, who controlled the lands around Puente Sampayo just to the north.[48] To find Count Gómez Núñez in rebellion was hardly novel for Urraca, but the defection of Fernando Juanes was another matter, for he had figured not infrequently among her supporters in Galicia.

During this same year Teresa had also secured an important concession from the new pontiff in Rome, Honorius II. On February 21, 1125 Honorius had taken the see of Coimbra under his protection while recognizing its continuing jurisdiction over the unrestored sees of Lamego and Viseu.[49]

[46] A charter of Teresa, dated only to 1125, is confirmed by Fernando Pérez as ruling Coimbra and Vermudo Pérez as ruling Viseu. The charter is a falsification, but the confirmants may reflect the actual state of affairs; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:496-497.

[47] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:410-413, again redated this grant to 1124 because he simply misunderstood the method of the author.

[48] September 2, 1125; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:87-88. September 4, 1125, ibid., pp. 88-89. But the real possibility exists that one of these charters is a falsification, based upon the other. See Azevado, *DMP*, 1:589-590.

[49] Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 183-185.

This papal initiative undercut, at one and the same time, the claims of the archbishop of Compostela as successor to Mérida and those of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo as primate and administrator of dioceses whose metropolitan see still lay within the area of Muslim control.

The knighting of Alfonso Enríquez, Teresa's son, at Zamora on Pentecost, May 17, 1125, must be seen in this context. Sánchez Belda interpreted this event as evidence that Zamora itself had passed again into the hands of Teresa.[50] Gonzaga de Azevedo saw in the event rather an assertion of independence by the nineteen-year-old Alfonso from his mother.[51] I incline to agree with the latter historian. It is true that both before and after the arming of Alfonso Enríquez he appears associated with his mother in her charters.[52] But that may mean no more than that Teresa had to accept the fait accompli.

Thinking forward to Teresa's deposition by her son only three years later, it is hard to see what she would have gained from arranging the knighting. And if she did, why in Zamora and presumably with the benediction of Bishop Bernard of that see, protégé of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo? Even if, as I think quite likely, Teresa still cherished Leonese rather than simply Portuguese ambitions for herself and her son, why would Bishop Bernard of Zamora confer more legitimacy on that aim than Archbishop Paio of Braga? On the other hand, the advantage for Urraca and her son in encouraging the rivalry of Teresa and the infans is patent, the choice of one of their border cities obvious.

But even with such a reading, it remains clear that the

[50] *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 8-9, n. 5.

[51] *História de Portugal*, 3:141-142. João Pedro Ribeiro, *Dissertações chronologicas e criticas sobre a historia e jurisprudencia ecclesiastica e civil de Portugal*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1857-96), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 83, cites a charter of Alfonso Enríquez to the Gallegan monastery of Santa Comba, dated March 30, 1125, which would be the first of his donations if it may be accepted.

[52] March 4, 1125; Azevado, *DMP*, 1:85-86, and those of September 2 and 4, 1125. See note 48.

division was slow to ripen. Until the death of Urraca not only what was to become Portugal but also southern Galicia continued in Teresa's grasp.

Urraca's failure finally to circumscribe and delimit the independent sovereignty of Teresa in the west must have been doubly disappointing because the status quo remained unshaken in the east. Alfonso of Aragón continued to be absorbed by the problems that had grown out of his conquest of the taifa of Zaragoza. Already in the winter of 1124–1125 his attention had been focused on Murābit Andalucía by the internal troubles of that empire and the unrest within its Mozárab population.[53] By mid-October of 1125 the Aragonese monarch was already at Valencia on his way south in what proved to be a great raid of more than twelve months' duration.[54]

Whatever Alfonso I may have originally intended to accomplish by that expedition, its ultimate importance came to reside in the Christian Mozárabs who accompanied him on his return to occupy and populate the broad lands west and south of Zaragoza. When he returned, his former wife had already been dead some seven months.

But even before that great razzia carried him once more out of the currents of Leonese politics, his preparations for it had necessarily had the same effect. From a review of his charters of early 1125, Alfonso's preoccupation with the affairs of Aragón is noticeable. So far as the state of knowledge of his diplomas will admit, it seems evident that he had not renounced the imperial title nor his claim to Castilla. But his chancery's assertion of those claims was erratic, almost whimsical.[55]

[53] Lacarra, *Vida*, p. 82.

[54] Ibid., p. 85.

[55] Five charters employ neither the imperial title nor make the claim to rule Castilla. 1125; Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 3 (1947–48):529. January 11, 1125; ibid., p. 525. May, 1125, ibid., 2 (1946):510–511. June 17, 1125; ibid., 5 (1952):539–540. September 29, 1125; ibid., 3 (1947–48):530–531. Two others claim Castilla but do not use the imperial

The king of Aragón, then, was busy elsewhere and the ambition and defiance of Teresa of Portugal resisted all remedies as Urraca's reign approached its close. Within León-Castilla there are no signs that the queen's authority diminished during this period, however. At the beginning of 1125 we cannot immediately locate her. A donation of Alfonso VII to the church of Toledo, dated January 19, 1125, seems to indicate that the young king had kept his Christmas court there.[56] Urraca does not confirm it, nor do any of the prelates of the realm. With a few exceptions the lay confirmants are largely unknown, presumably local figures.

The outstanding exceptions are the confirmations of Count Bertran, Martin Pérez, and Froila Pérez. The first of these is undoubtedly that cousin of Alfonso of Aragón who at this time controlled both Carrión and Logroño for the Aragonese monarch.[57] Earlier he had confirmed Alfonso Raimúndez's charter to Sigüenza of November 1, 1124. Count Bertran's growing familiarity with the court of León-Castilla cost the Aragonese his control of Burgos in 1127. Martin Pérez is probably to be identified as the son-in-law of the late Count Pedro Ansúrez, and Froila Pérez as the latter's son. Thus, the family of the great Leonese count was beginning to drift into the circle of the young king.

The queen had probably spent Christmas at Sahagún. She was probably there still on February 20, 1125, when Muño Románez and his wife made a donation to Cluny of a property that had been given to them by the queen. Urraca is mentioned twice in the document but does not confirm it.

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title: March 1125; ibid., 2 (1946):510; and August 1125; Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja* (Logroño, 1976), 2:137-138. Four others make both claims. February 1125; Lacarra, "Documentos para la reconquista," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):508-509. March 1125; ibid., 3 (1947-48):526-528. April 1125; ibid., 5 (1952):538-539. August 1125; AHN, Clero, carp. 712, no. 5.

[56] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 43; Códices, 1.242, fols. 55v-56r; BN, Manuscritos, 13.093, fols. 60r-62r; and AC Toledo, Liber Privilegiorum, fol. 33v.

[57] Lacarra, "Paces de Támara," p. 463.

But Archbishop Bernard does, along with Archbishop Gelmírez and Bishops Pedro of Lugo, Diego of Orense, and Muño of Mondoñedo.[58] This concentration of Galician prelates at her court probably indicates Urraca's continuing preoccupation with the affairs of that province, which I have argued for 1124 and 1125. She was certainly there on March 19, 1125, when Abbot Bernard issued a new fuero to the men of the village. Urraca confirmed it along with her daughter Sancha, as did a large gathering of the monks of the abbey and the burghers of the town. It is worth noticing that the abbot issued it "concessione regine dominae urracae."[59]

I believe that she held Easter court there as well. The evidence is a charter of donation to Sahagún made on March 26, 1125, Holy Thursday, by the Countess Doña Mayor, wife of Count Pedro Froilaz. The extant copy cites Archbishops Bernard of Toledo and Gelmírez of Compostela and the bishops of León, Oviedo, Astorga, and Palencia, all of whom I suspect confirmed in the original. A long list of court nobles surely also confirmed, and Urraca and her son, who are merely cited in this copy, probably confirmed as well.[60] It would have been a gathering such as this that would have discussed encouraging the young infans of Portugal to proclaim himself of age.

On May 10, 1125 the queen made a joint donation, together with Count Rodrigo González, of the Asturian monastery of Vega to the French religious convent of Fontev-

[58] BN, Manuscritos, 18.387, fol. 252r.

[59] AHN, Clero, carp. 894, nos. 14 and 15.

[60] Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 516-518. At almost precisely the same time, March 25, 1125, Guter Fernández and his wife are supposed to have issued a fuero to the men of San Cebrián that cites Alfonso as ruling in León, Toledo, and Castilla, published in Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 51-53. There are other problems with this document as well and, at best, it is badly dated. A private document of Astorga, dated March 31, 1125, simply cites Urraca as ruling León; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 208r.

raud. The charter was confirmed by her son, the bishops of Astorga, León, and Zamora, and the abbot of Sahagún, as well as a few court figures.[61] On the whole, it seems probable that the court was still at Sahagún, her son and heir in attendance, and the two acting in concert.

The accord between Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez continued and even increased, as was demonstrated particularly in the religious sphere. On December 24, 1124 Pope Calixtus II had died in Rome. Although he could best be described as a partisan of the young Alfonso and former enemy of Urraca, there is no sign that the queen capitalized on his demise to attempt to strengthen her position vis-à-vis her son. Then, in early April of 1125 the venerable Archbishop Bernard of Toledo died. The primate, as much as the late pope, had helped to maintain peace and balance between Urraca and her son since 1119. Again there is no evidence that his passing altered their relationship. The choice of his successor, Bishop Raymond of Osma, was acceptable to both mother and son.

Indeed, the two jointly directed a curt letter to the archbishop of Compostela sometime in the spring or summer of 1125 warning him not to take advantage of the vacancy to diminish the dignity of the primatial see. In his reply Gelmírez comments on their newly found amity, which operated to his disadvantage.[62] But the prelate of Santiago was to discover new limits for his own actions and for the possibilities of his see just at this time. In January of 1125 he had addressed an appeal for a crusade in Spain to the clergy, princes, and Christian people.[63] It is impossible to know how

[61] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 46-48, published it from what he characterized as the original in the monastery archive. Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., "El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto Valencia de San Juan: Documentos reales, primera serie, 875-1224," *BRAH* 168 (1971):460-462, also published it from a thirteenth-century copy in the collection of the Instituto de Valencia de San Juan in Madrid.

[62] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:421-422.

[63] Ibid., pp. 427-430.

far his ambition for his church and its patron went, but it seems certain that he aspired to the legateship for all of Spain and perhaps even for the transferal of the primateship to his apostolic shrine. On April 13, 1125, already aware of the death of Calixtus and, it may be, of the death of Archbishop Bernard, he had sent an embassy to Rome.[64]

But the hopes of the archbishop of Compostela were to be dashed in every quarter. Urraca had rarely been his ally and usually his opponent. He had lost Alfonso at the moment when the boy king's rule of Toledo became a reality and the primatial see thus, inevitably, the chosen instrument of the latter's policy. Now the two remained united to close further options for him in Spain. Worse, when another embassy of his reached Rome in late 1125 or early 1126, they found the new archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Coimbra already there and complaining of him.[65] The new primate and the old adherent of Toledo could have been sent only by Alfonso and Urraca. Not only did Gelmírez not secure the legateship for all Spain, but the new Pope Innocent II would not even renew his legatine powers for the western provinces of Braga and Compostela.

In the late spring Urraca and her son seem to have visited Galicia. On June 1, 1125 the young Alfonso granted a charter to the church of Mondoñedo that was confirmed by the queen. The text of the grant indicates that perhaps Bishop Muño had entered the service of Alfonso and marks yet another step in the transfer of allegiances from queen to son. There are no episcopal confirmations, and the lay confirmants are almost all identifiable as Galicians.[66] This is the last known occasion on which Urraca and her son were together. The young Alfonso alone grants one charter, dated Septem-

[64] Ibid., pp. 425-426.

[65] Ibid., pp. 441-442.

[66] BN, Manuscritos, 5.928, fols. 32v-33r; published in Flórez, *ES*, 18:344-345. Two other charters of Alfonso Raimúndez attributed to early 1125 must be redated or rejected: February 10, 1125 and April 1, 1125; see Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," pp. 253-254, n. 63, and 250, n. 48.

ber 11, 1125, to the monastery of San Pedro de las Dueñas. The two charters that each of them is supposed to have granted separately to the Castilian monastery of Silos on July 21, 1125 are both forgeries.[67] In the charter of September 11 Urraca's son styles himself "hispanie rex" and it is confirmed by the Archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Palencia, León, and Astorga.

In the late summer Urraca was probably in Castilla, where she confirmed an exchange of property between the monastery of Silos and Count Pedro González. The transaction was also confirmed by the bishops of Palencia and Burgos; the lay confirmants are mostly Castilians.[68]

Conceivably Urraca never thereafter left Castilla, where she died early the following spring. There is no reliable information about her activities from this point on. The available evidence suggests that she continued to rule, as well as to reign, right up to her death. Her supporters held the key positions in León and western Castilla.[69]

Similarly, the only evidence for the activity of her son dur-

[67] September 11, 1125; ADL, San Pedro de las Dueñas, nos. 9 and 10. The first of these is cited as an original by José María Fernández Catón, ed., *Catálogo del archivo del monasterio de San Pedro de las Dueñas* (León, 1977), p. 20, but it is clearly a later copy on the basis of the script. The second is a notarial copy of the fourteenth century. July 21, 1125; for Alfonso's charter, see Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," p. 250, n. 48. For Urraca's, AHN, Clero, carp. 273, no. 5 and carp. 375, no. 3; published in Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 48-51, and Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:189-191, is entitled "ego Urraka, Domini gratia in spania regina, decentis memorie domni Adefonsi regis filia." Moreover, the day is given as Sunday in the dating formula, but July 21 was a Wednesday in 1125. In general the diplomatics of the document do not inspire confidence.

[68] Férotin, *Recueil de Silos*, pp. 51-53.

[69] Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pelayo y Vega*, pp. 45-46, publishes the text of a private donation, dated April 18, 1125, that would credit Alfonso Raimúndez with the rule of all Spain, including León. Aside from the incompatibility of this document with other sources of the time, it also refers to Alfonso as "emperor," gives the bishop of Astorga as Pedro instead of Alo, and Rodrigo González as "villicus imperatoris," or majordomo, a post he never held.

ing this period comes from the bulls of Honorius II of November 30, 1125. These two letters confirmed the election of Raymond of Osma as archbishop of Toledo and also his legatine and primatial powers as archbishop, his jurisdiction over sees whose metropolitanate had not been restored, the possessions of Toledo, and León, Oviedo, and Palencia as his suffragans.[70] The letter of notification of the election sent by Alfonso Raimúndez is mentioned by Honorius.

For some of the events immediately preceding the queen's death we must rely once again on the "Historia Compostelana." As so frequently, the information is incidental to the purposes of the author. In the late winter of 1125-1126 Archbishop Gelmírez was waging war on Fernando Juanes, the lord of Puente Sampayo, and partisan of Teresa of Portugal. In all probability Gelmírez was acting as Urraca's ally, although the narrative presents the quarrel as a local one growing out of that noble's seizure of some burghers of Compostela. Before the campaign itself Gelmírez had excommunicated the offender and his supporters and had imposed an interdict on his lands.[71]

At this time an embassy from the archbishop was waiting on the queen. Their purpose was to secure the return of the castle of Cira, which the author alleges had been sold to the prelate by the queen but then enfiefed back to her. We may conclude that the surrender of the castle, some twenty kilometers southeast of Compostela, was the price of Gelmírez's support against Urraca's enemies in southern Galicia. The embassy had found the queen ill to the point of death and already ordering her affairs. One of the arrangements she made was for the return of the castle of Cira to Gelmírez.[72]

Shortly thereafter, on March 8, 1126, Urraca died at Sal-

[70] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 109; published in Fidel Fita, "Dos bulas inéditas de Honorio II," *BRAH* 7 (1885):414-423, from the copies in AC Toledo, Liber Privilegiorum, fol. 95, and BN, Manuscritos, 13.022, fol. 20r.

[71] Flórez, *ES*, 20:431-432.

[72] Ibid., pp. 435-436.

daña on the Río Carrión in the Tierra de Campos. The sources differ as to whether it was March 8 or 9 but the former, given in her epitaph at León, is preferable.[73] We do not know whether her illness was an extended one or not. The testimony of the "Chronicon Compostelanum" that she died during the birth of a child conceived in adultery must be heavily discounted because of the obvious hostility of the author. Moreover, Urraca was approximately forty-six years old at the time of her death.

On the day of his mother's death Alfonso VII was at Sahagún, some thirty kilometers to the west. There Gelmírez's embassy found him and secured his agreement to uphold the wishes of his mother concerning the castle of Cira.[74] The next day he rode to León, where he was received as king by Bishop Diego, the clergy, and the people. But the royal fortress in the town, the "towers of León," refused to recognize the young king and opted initially to support the late queen's consort, Count Pedro González of Lara, and his brother, Rodrigo González, Count of Asturias de Santillana.

In a matter of days, however, the great magnate Suero Vermúdez, Count of Astorga and Bierzo, rode in to pledge his loyalty together with his brother, Count Alfonso Vermúdez. When negotiations by Bishop Diego and the two counts with the castellan of the towers failed to produce results, the fortress was quickly taken by assault. Apparently the resistance was not much more than a token one and the king was generous to the defeated. Shortly thereafter the magnates of León, Asturias, and of the key posts in western Castilla appeared to make their submission.[75]

All of this must have taken place fairly quickly. Arch-

[73] See Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 4-5, n. 1; Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:432; and the "Chronicon Compostelana," *ES*, 20:611.

[74] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:436. A charter of Alfonso VII, granted at Sahagún on March 9, 1126, has some difficulties. See Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," p. 249, n. 37.

[75] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 4-8, affords a fairly clear and dramatic account of the first days of the reign of Alfonso VII.

bishop Gelmírez received his first intelligence of Urraca's death while campaigning against Fernando Juanes in southern Galicia. Returning to Compostela he encountered there a delegation from the young Alfonso asking him to proceed to León in order to crown the new monarch. The archbishop left his cathedral city for León on April 2, 1126.[76] Given time for the embassy to Galicia to be organized and to make the trip, it seems probable that it had taken Alfonso VII something like two weeks to consolidate his control of León, Astorga, Asturias, and parts of Castilla.

The young king seems to have had few misgivings as to the solidity of his control over that portion of his realm. When Gelmírez arrived in León on Holy Saturday, April 10, 1126, he found that the king had already departed. On Easter Monday the archbishop celebrated mass for the soul of Urraca, buried in that royal city, and a new embassy from the crown asked him to proceed to Zamora to join the king. The following day, April 13, the archbishop of Compostela set out for Zamora accompanied by the bishops of Mondoñedo, Lugo, Astorga, and Oviedo. When he reached Zamora he found, doubtless to his chagrin, that he had been preceded there by the archbishop of Toledo and also by the bishops of Segovia, Palencia, Salamanca, and Ávila.[77]

Probably before Gelmírez's arrival, Alfonso VII had taken an initiative that would further constrain his former guardian and ally. The young king had met with his aunt, Teresa of Portugal, and her consort, Count Fernando Pérez of Galicia, at the little village of Ricobayo some twenty kilometers east of Zamora and less than fifteen from the modern border of Portugal. With them he had arranged a peace whose terms or duration we unfortunately do not know. We do know that among those who made their submission at Zamora were Count Gómez Núñez and Fernando Juanes, recently par-

[76] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:432-433.
[77] Ibid., pp. 433-434.

tisans of Teresa, as well as the sons of Count Pedro Froilaz. Also tendering their loyalty were the leaders of the party of Urraca in Galicia, Count Rodrigo Vélaz and his brother, Count Guter Vélaz.[78]

To this first general curia of Alfonso VII's reign also came the nobles of the trans-Duero, but that must have been a foregone conclusion. More important, some of the other great nobles of León and the Tierra de Campos who had held back now made their obedience. Finally, the brothers of the house of Lara, Counts Pedro and Rodrigo González, seeing the rapidity with which the power of the new Leonese monarch was growing, decided they must submit as well.[79]

Whether these last came in person to Zamora is impossible to say with certainty. They do not appear as confirmants to the two known charters of Alfonso VII that were issued at Zamora.[80] But the Infanta Elvira, Urraca's daughter by Count Pedro González, was there and made a donation to the church of Santiago.[81] It is possible that both she and her brother, Fernando, were in fact hostage at the royal court for the good behavior of their father.

The long-awaited change of reigns had taken place, and even been consolidated, by April of 1126. Scarcely a month after Urraca's death, the constant threat of civil war in Galicia had been ended by the mere accession of her son. The new king had received the homage of the remainder of the realm and had made his first major decision in peninsular affairs. Reversing the decade-old policy of his mother, he

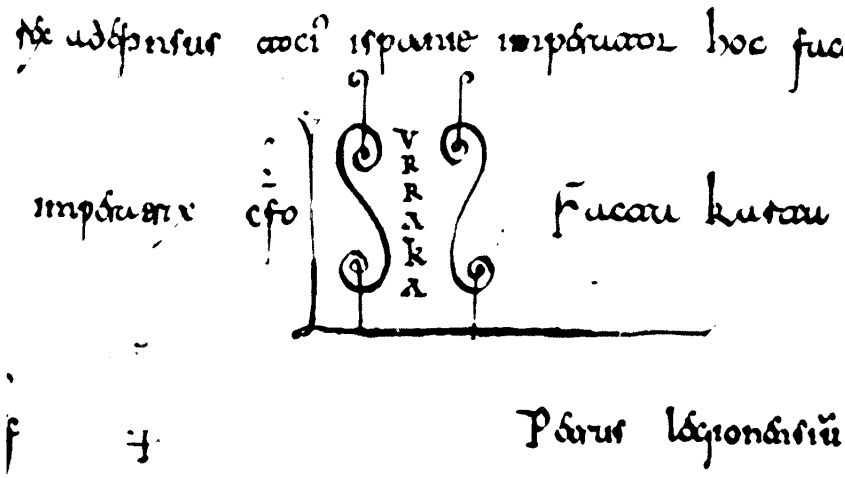
[78] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 8-9.

[79] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[80] April 13, 1126; AE Salamanca, no. 2, AC Salamanca, no. 6; published in Antonio de Yépes, *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito*, 7 vols. (Valladolid, 1609-21), 6:495; of the possessions of the church of Salamanca. April 14, 1126; AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fol. 19, a donation to the monastery of San Tomás in Zamora. It has been asserted that Alfonso VII also granted new fueros to Zamora, but no text survives. See Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora* (Madrid, 1882), 1:321.

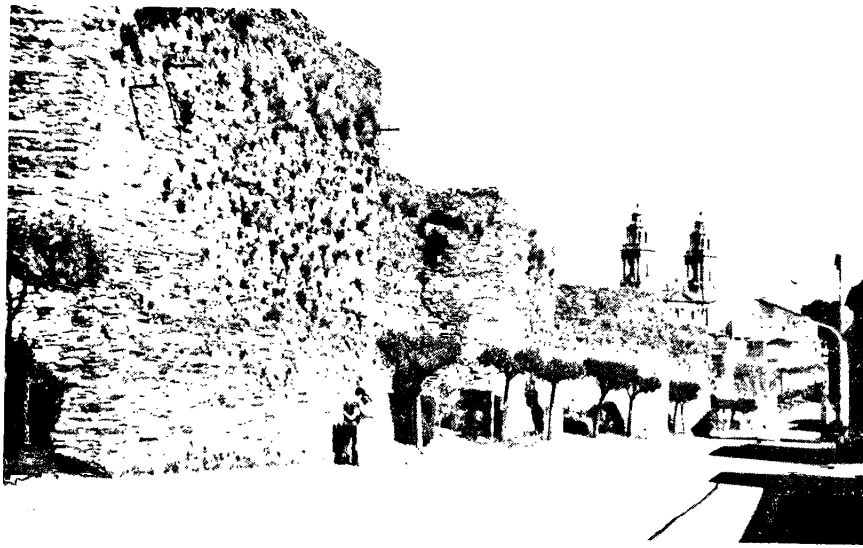
[81] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:440.

made peace with Teresa of Portugal in order to be free to pursue the recovery of eastern Castilla from Alfonso of Aragón. He would rapidly discover, as had his mother, that to separate the two problems was beyond the power of any Leonese monarch of the age.



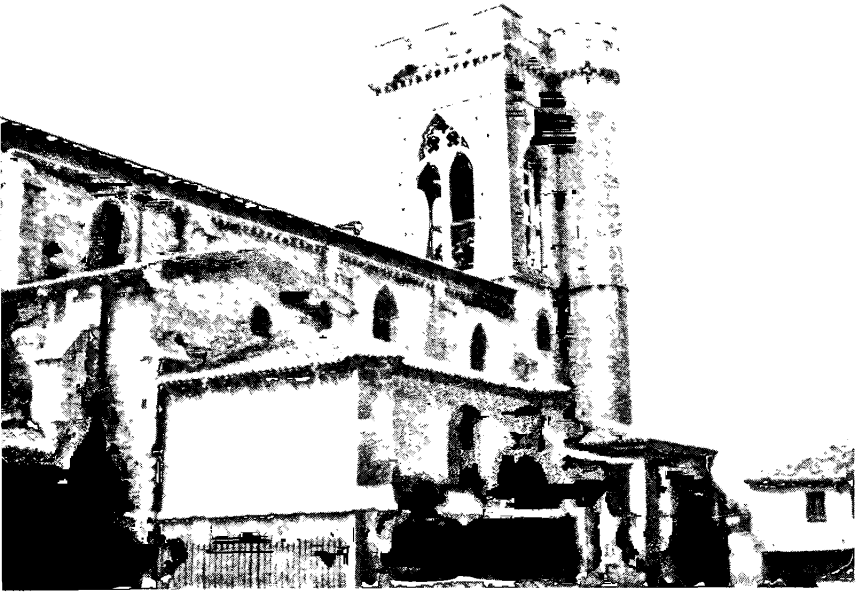
Portion of Original Charter of Urraca, December 26, 1110, with the Queen's *Signum*. (Courtesy of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.)

Copper Coins of Urraca. (Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.)

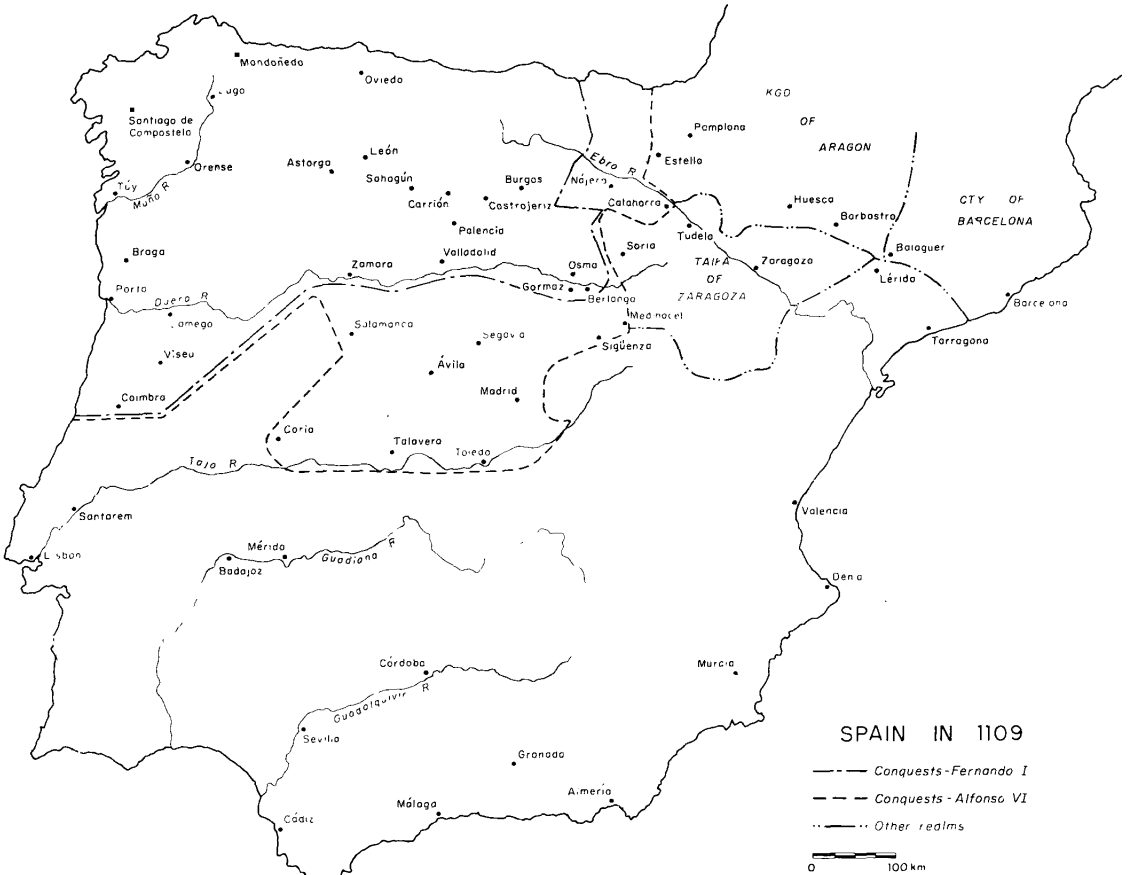


Roman Wall of the Hill Town of Lugo. (Photograph by the author.)

The River as Moat: the Rio Tajo at Toledo.
(Photograph by the author.)



The Fortified, Twelfth-Century Church of San Miguel, Palencia.
(Photograph by the author.)


Mondoñedo
Oviedo
Lugo
Santiago de Compostela
Orense
Astorga
León
Sahagún
Burgos
Nájera
Ebro R
Estella
Pamplona
KGD OF ARAGON
Huesca
Barbastro
CTY OF BARCELONA
Balaguer
Lérida
Tudela
Zaragoza
TAIFA OF ZARAGOZA
Soria
Osma
Berlanga
Medinaceli
Sigüenza
Guadalajara
Segovia
Ávila
Madrid
Carrión
Castrojeriz
Calahorra
Palencia
Valladolid
Zamora
Tuy R
Miño R
Braga
Porto
Duero R
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Talavera
Toledo
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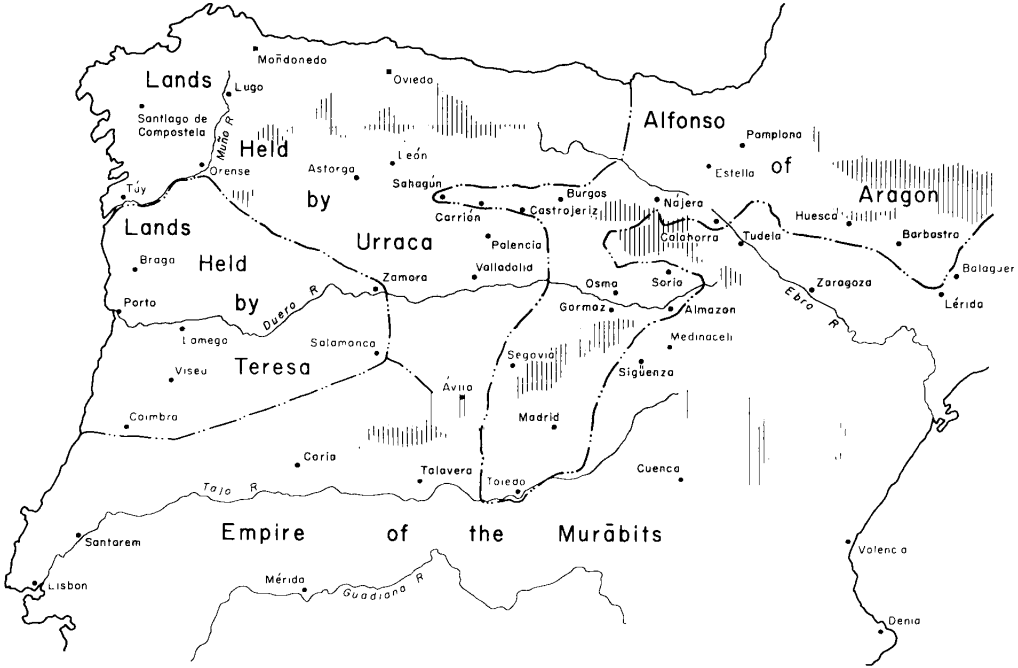
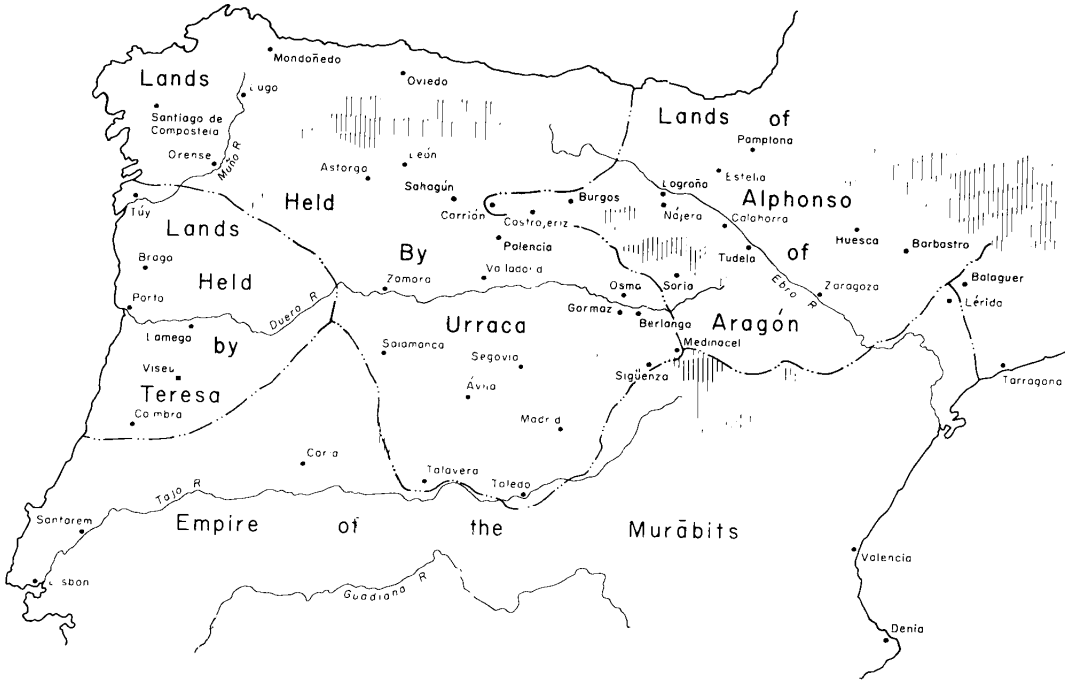
Tarragona
Barcelona
SPAIN IN 1109
Conquests - Fernando I
Conquests - Alfonso VI
Other realms
0
100 km



NORTHERN SPAIN IN 1114

Area over 1000 meters

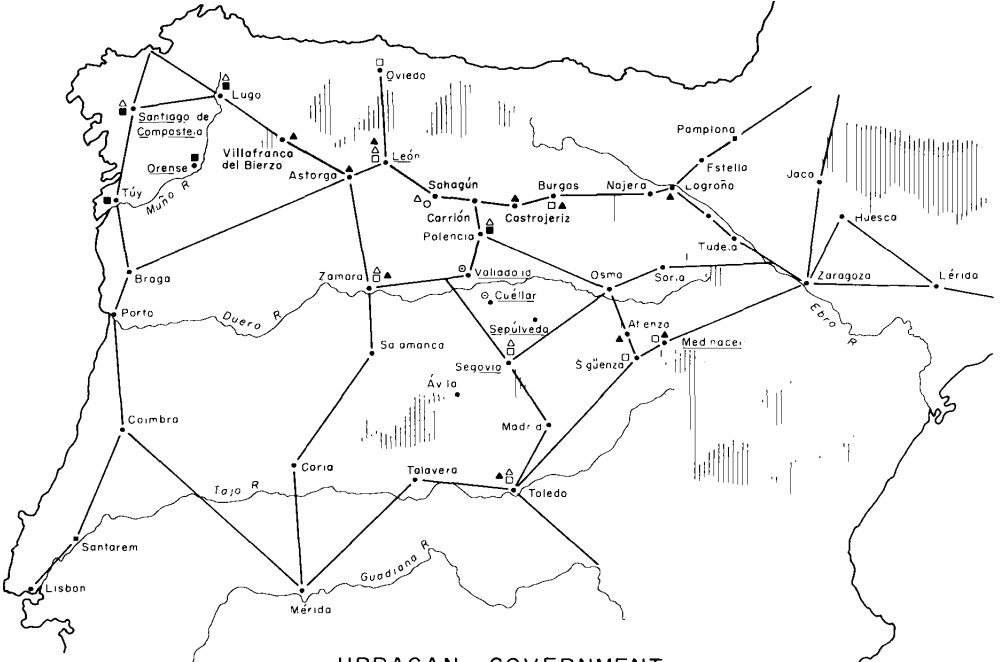
0 100 km



NORTHERN SPAIN IN 1126

Area over 1000 meters

0 100 km



URRACAN GOVERNMENT

- □ *Royal Towns*
- ■ *Episcopal Towns*
- o *Abbatial Towns*
- ⊙ *Senorial Towns*
- △ *Mints*
- ▲ *Toll Stations*
- —— *Roman roads in major use*
- NAME *Towns with councils*

Area over 1000 meters

0 100 km

SEVEN

COURT AND DYNASTY

By the close of the year 1112 the government of the realm had been firmly established. The marriage to the king of Aragón was over and there was to be no joint government of the kingdom. Count Henry of Portugal was dead and his widow, the queen's half sister Teresa, no longer had designs so great as to supplant Urraca. The queen's son, Alfonso Raimúndez, had become an heir and thus something less than a rival, although eventually he would again become one. If Urraca was still embattled in east and west, in the center of her father's domains lay a block of lands firmly under her control in which a regular government could be reconstituted.

The constitution and functioning of the royal curia of Urraca are recorded essentially in the products of her chancery, which formed no small part of the former. Besides those charters there remains only a fragmentary and fitful record of the doings of her government, sometimes illuminated in the chroniclers of the period. No reflective, administrative sketches, such as a *constitutio Domus Regis*, or even a *Fürstenspiegel* are known for the period. The foundation, outlines, and in many ways even the limits of what can be known begin and end with Urraca's charters. That being so, a consideration of the curia begins with a consideration of her chancery.

From the not quite seventeen years of her reign, some one hundred eighteen charters of the queen have survived in whole or in substantial part. The rest are mere notices of documents and confirmations to private documents. That is a meager record in comparison with the more than fifteen hundred charters and writs of her contemporary, Henry I of England,

even allowing for the fact that his reign was more than twice as long. It does suggest, however, roughly the same level of activity recorded for another contemporary, Louis VI of France, again allowing for the greater length of his rule. Closer to home, the chancery of her son, Alfonso VII, is credited with roughly one hundred eighty charters during the early years of his reign between 1116 and 1135, a period that partially overlaps his mother's rule. Still, the smallness of the sample compounds the problems of diplomatics; at most, only twenty-five of the known charters are originals, and perhaps as few as seventeen.[1]

The script used by the notaries of Urraca's writing office itself indicates something of the transitional character of her reign. All of them wrote in a Visigothic script already strongly influenced by the Carolingian.[2] Although there are minor variations from one notary to another, in general the *b, e, f, h, k, l, q, r, s,* and *t* remain basically true to the native forms. On the other hand, the French script's *a, g, i, m, n,* and *p* have supplanted the indigenous forms.

Although the notarial hand betrays considerable modification from the usage of the chancery of Alfonso, the style and form of the various elements of the charters show little change from the traditional. The dating formula is somewhat altered but usually continues to give the day, month, and year of issuance, the latter in the Spanish era. Only rarely is the place of issuance given. The seal continues to be drawn

[1] My own study of the charters of Urraca is complete and I hope the findings will shortly be published in a more complete form than the brief résumé given here. The pioneering work on Urraca's chancery was done by Luis Sánchez Belda, "La cancillería castellana en el reinado de Doña Urraca," *EDMP* (Madrid, 1953), 4:587-599.

[2] The one document of Urraca that may be both an original and in Carolingian script is her grant of a mint to the monastery of Sahagún on October 15, 1116; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 893, no. 16; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 512-513; and in Conrado Martero y Simon, *Apuntes de la iniciación a la paleografía española de los siglos* XII *a* XVIII (Madrid, 1963), plate 1. The notary is not of the chancery, but a monk of Sahagún.

rather than an impressed or affixed one. It differs from that of her father chiefly in its incorporation of the queen's name. This practice was, perhaps, the older tradition in the peninsula in both public and private documents, but Alfonso VI had not adhered to it.

These charters were, overwhelmingly, the work of a small group of five men whose careers in Urraca's chancery for the most part overlap. Their work tells us something of the politics of the court. Of none of these is this more true than the first to be considered, Martín Peláez. A canon of the church of Santiago, he first appears "eo tempore in curia comitis et infanta palatina notarius cf." in a charter of Count Raymond to the Galician monastery of San Vicente de Pino, a donation of uncertain date.[3] He also appears in a charter of the count to the church of Santiago on March 17, 1107, but merely as a confirmant.[4]

Canon Martín did not figure in the early chancery of Urraca, which is not surprising for someone identified with the Raimundist faction and an official of the church of Gelmírez. His first charters occur in the fall of 1111, just when Urraca was working out an alliance with that group against her husband, Alfonso of Aragón.[5] Martín's chancery career illustrates the temporary and opportunist character of the queen's connection with the Galician magnates. More than a decade later, when the young Alfonso Raimúndez had formed a chancery of his own, the canon became an important part of it, disappearing from the court of Urraca.[6]

During the period he served the queen, Martín Peláez produced some fifteen of those of her charters that preserve

[3] Santiago Estefanía, "Memorias para la vida de el Rey Don Alfonso primero de Castilla y sexto de León" (Acad. Hist., Madrid, 1826), pp. 209-211, who dates it to 1092.

[4] Ibid., p. 235, and Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:69-70 app.

[5] See ch. 2, note 99.

[6] Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," *Speculum* 51 (1976):246-248.

the name of the notary; three are originals.[7] The formula and style of these documents demonstrate the relative lack of standardization that is typical of Urraca's chancery, although their diversity is perhaps somewhat magnified by the small number of originals relative to copies. Nonetheless, the use of the imperial title by the queen is illustrated in two charters of 1112, the latter of which is an original.[8] Urraca employs the imperial title on a mere handful of occasions at the beginning of her reign, when it may have been a conscious device to offset the authority of her "imperial" husband.

In references to himself, Martín styled himself "chancellor" in no less than five charters, all of them of the dark days of 1112. None of these is an original, but they come from widely scattered churches. Before and after 1112 Martín ordinarily calls himself "notary." Although the two titles are not paired in the charters that survive, the use of both "empress" and "chancellor" is occasional, quite unusual, and seems to be defensive. The vestiture of empire was probably felt to be even more exclusively masculine than the other parts of Urraca's inheritance.

There was another Martín *notarius* in the chancery during much of this same time. Between December 1110 and January 1116 he produced nine known charters, two of which are

[7] April 28, 1112; see ch. 2, note 109. July 23, 1114; Instituto Valencia de San Juan, Fondo Antiguo de Pergaminos, sig. B. A. 2/1, the original; and a copy in Acad. Hist., Sección de Catedrales de España, Mondoñedo, 9-25-1-C-3, fol. 15; published in Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., "El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto Valencia de San Juan: Documentos reales, primera serie, 875-1224," *BRAH* 168 (1971):459-460. March 1, 1117; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.185, no. 6, an original now almost totally illegible, and no. 7, a thirteenth-century copy. BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 9, 194, fols. 147v and 197v, two later copies dated to 1067; published in Enrique Flórez, ed., *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 18:342-344.

[8] May 18, 1112; AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, AC Lugo, rollo 5.869. This charter was written by one "Pelagius lucensis" and was confirmed by "Martinus ecclesia sti iacobi canonicis et eo tempore regine curalii notarii hanc scripturam quam iussione regine confirmo."

originals.[9] On the basis of script and diplomatics he must be distinguished from Martín Peláez, but nothing more can currently be established about his identity. He never employed the title of chancellor nor styled Urraca empress.

The most prolific member of the chancery was Fernando Pérez who has left twenty-two charters, though perhaps only one original in his own hand.[10] His products cover the period from August 1110 until November 1123, and after Urraca's death he became a member of the chancery of Alfonso VII.[11] A personal reference in a charter of 1113 tells us that he was at that time a canon of both the churches of Santiago and of León. In 1115 he also appeared as a canon of Santiago and notary of the queen in a donation of Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago to the Gallegan monastery of San Martín Pinario.[12] In 1123 the "Historia Compostelana" speaks of him as "Reginae Cancellarium" and he may also have been that cleric of the queen whom she entrusted with a minor role in negotiations with Gelmírez in 1120 when the latter was briefly her prisoner.[13] Unlike Martín Peláez, Fernando Pérez appears first in the service of the queen and then as the canon of Santiago. It is possible that the latter dignity was a result of his position in the chancery.

In the charters for which he is responsible, Fernando Pérez

[9] October 21, 1112; AD León, Otero de las Dueñas. December 8, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.794, no. 1.

[10] 1118; AHN, Clero, carp. 512, no. 7, with much of the text lost. January 4, 1113; AC León, no. 9.277, also an original but written by another; only the subscription of Fernando is in his own hand. There are two other charters that may be originals but also may be only good copies. I suspend judgment on them at this point. The issue is not germane to our concerns here.

[11] Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," p. 251 and nn. 52 and 53.

[12] October 12, 1113; AHN, Microfilmas, AC León, rollo 5.970, no. 1005; published in Luis Sánchez Belda, "Notas de diplomática: La confirmación de documentos por los reyes del occidente español," *RABM* 59 (1953):85-116. April 15, 1115; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 102-104 app.

[13] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:390 and 331.

never himself employs the imperial title. Nor does he refer to himself as chancellor but almost invariably as notary. There are two charters in which he calls himself "scribe."[14] These instances, like others to be considered shortly, militate against Sánchez Belda's suggestion that a species of *cursus honorum* existed in the chancery at this time.[15] The terms *clerk*, *scribe*, *notary*, and even *chancellor* seem to be used as simple synonyms.

Certainly that is the case with Juan Rodríguez. In the nine charters of Urraca that he prepared between July of 1109 and June of 1116, he alternately styled himself clerk and notary. Three of these are originals.[16] We know little about his career beyond the fact that he frequently prepared private documents, six of which survive and show that he was still royal notary as late as 1121.[17] He also employed the imperial title for Urraca just once, in late 1110.

The final regular member of her chancery was Pedro Vicéntez. Between March 1115 and February 1124 he is responsible for fifteen charters, of which two are originals of his own and his confirmation of a third an original.[18] Pedro does not use the title of chancellor but that of notary with

[14] January 18, 1111; AHN, Clero, carp. 272, no. 12, a good copy; published in Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:166-167. May 19, 1118; AHN. Clero, carp. 272, nos. 19, 20, and 21, all copies; published in Alamo, *Colección de Oña*, 1:182-184.

[15] "Cancillería castellana," pp. 594-595.

[16] For the two charters of December 26, 1110, see ch. 3, note 88. December 24, 1110; ASI, Reales, no. 135, an original.

[17] April 16, 1121; published in Mateo Escagedo Salmón, ed., *Colección diplomática de la insigne y real Iglesia Colegial de Santillana*, 2 vols. (Santoña, 1927), 2:39-42.

[18] 1118; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 21. April 27, 1120; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.591, no. 17; published in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El monasterio de Cornellana* (Oviedo, 1949), 1:151-152. November 15, 1118; AHN, Microfilmas, AC León, rollo 5.970, no. 1007, with a copy in AC León, Tumbo, fols. 118v-119r, has his confirmation only. An earlier charter of September 6, 1110 refers to Urraca as "regina et imperatrix" and is credited to "Petrus Vincentii scripsit." I have strong reservations about accepting it. See ch. 2, note 81.

few exceptions. He does not use the imperial title for Urraca. Of his career outside the chancery we currently know only that on June 3, 1124 one "Petrus Vicentii Palentinus sedis canonicus" composed a private donation for the daughter of Count Pedro Ansúrez.[19]

This brief examination reveals the chancery under Urraca as a moderately busy place. Its center is a group of five notaries whose service to the queen is relatively permanent, with a variety of others pressed into service on occasion. The former were professionals, and two of them subsequently passed into the nascent chancery of her son in an identical capacity. The diplomatic norms they employ are far from completely standardized, but they have become regular. The genesis of this body is hard to explain, especially given the paucity of surviving charters for the last years of Alfonso VI. It seems probable that there was little institutional link with the chancery of Alfonso VI but that a strong awareness of the latter's procedures influenced those of Urraca's chancery. Finally, in its operations it remained Urraca's chancery and never became that of her husband or her son. Like the realm itself, it was only the queen's to direct.

Through this chancery the queen associated her rule with the dynasty as a whole. By this means she could, while maintaining control, enhance her authority. Of no one is this more true than of her son, heir, and possible rival. The young Alfonso confirms or is cited in no less than thirty-seven of the seventy-one charters of her reign dating after 1113. Her daughter Sancha confirms or is cited in some twelve documents of the same period and Urraca's half sister Sancha in the same number. This evidence indicates that the royal progeny were frequently at court, and perhaps more frequently than their confirmations indicate. It is, however, unwarranted to make them, singly or as a group, an invariable part of it.

Besides the regular members of the chancery discussed

[19] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fol. 294.

above, court officials are relatively few. The chief among these is, of course, the majordomo, whose title in the documents may be variously expressed. "Mayordomus regine" is the most common form but "mayordomus palacie" and "mayordomus curialis" are also employed. Other well-attested variants are "villicus palacie," "villicus curie," "egonomus regine," and "dapifer regine."

There are four nobles who hold this position from 1110 until the end of the reign. The first is Guter Fernández, who first appears in that capacity on October 15, 1110 and whose last appearance is on January 22, 1117.[20] Altogether he confirms twenty of Urraca's charters in those years. That would indicate the ordinary presence of this official in the curia, but his confirmation of charters is not strictly necessary, for it is sometimes absent even in the originals.

This powerful Castilian noble was señor of Castrojeriz and had been frequently in the court of Alfonso VI. Beginning in 1134, he appeared as majordomo of Alfonso VII. Son of Maria Ansúrez, the sister of Count Pedro Ansúrez, he was an ally of the latter, sharing his fortunes. He was seldom at court in the latter years of Alfonso VI, when the influence of Raymond and Henry had procured his uncle's exile, and dropped out of the court of Urraca shortly before Count Pedro's death in 1117. Initially he probably supported the marriage to the Batallador but by the fall of 1110 he had rallied to the queen. His self-interest as a Castilian noble, holding not only Castrojeriz but also allied by his marriage to Toda Díaz to the powerful Riojan family of the Ordóñez, would have inclined him to oppose the pretensions of the Aragonese monarch. The same circumstances made him a not inconsiderable influence at court against the Castilian

[20] For details of his career see Luciano Serrano, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral* (Madrid, 1906), pp. xi-xvi; Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chrónica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 236-238; and Salvador de Moxo, "De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva," *CH* 3 (1969):61. Serrano, *Colección de El Moral*, pp. xiii-xiv, no. 12, says that he served into 1118 but does not support the assertion.

Laras and on behalf of his own family, the Castros, also of Castilla. He and his family probably opposed the truce initiated in 1117 with Aragón because it left much of their lands in the hands of the Batallador. Guter himself, it will be remembered, was implicated in the coup directed against Count Pedro González in 1119.

Quite different was Jimeno López, Urraca's second majordomo, who served in that capacity from at least July 4, 1117 until August 21, 1120.[21] He confirmed no less than sixteen of the queen's charters during that period. He came from a Vizcayan family of Ayala who had been supporters of Alfonso VI's annexation of Rioja from 1076. Nevertheless, from 1109 the family had been forced to cultivate its relations with Aragón.[22] In documents of Alfonso I of Aragón of 1118 and 1119, Jimeno is twice mentioned as holding Soria and once as señor in Soria and Burgos. Although he appears in Urraca's court as early as February of 1114, his promotion to majordomo in 1117 should be seen as part of the general, temporary, understanding between the two monarchs. That understanding cleared the way for the Batallador's successful siege of Zaragoza in 1118. When that conquest led to the extension of his power westward into Soria, it would have been natural to entrust those lands to someone in whom both he and his former wife had confidence until the border could be adjudicated.

Jimeno was succeeded by his brother, Lope López, who became Urraca's third majordomo between April 16, 1121 and March 28, 1122. He figures in but three of her charters. Until 1119 he was closely associated with Alfonso of Ara-

[21] He appears earlier as majordomo in a charter of March 31, 1116; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.857, no. 13, a copy of the twelfth century; BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 226; and Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-16, fol. 250. The date is early, for he confirms no fewer than three subsequent charters without the title, and an original of late 1116 shows Guter Fernández still in that post. I suspect that the copyist took "merinus" for "Mayordomus."

[22] Indeed, Gregorio de Balparda y las Herrarias, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y sus fueros*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1924 and Bilbao, 1933-34), 2:321-322, knew of him only as a partisan of the Batallador.

gón and appears in a dozen of his charters, usually cited as señor of Calahorra. After October 1123 he passed to the party of the young Alfonso VII, appearing as his alférez. His career, too, is a clear indicator of the political currents of the peninsula.[23]

The last of the queen's majordomos is Guter Pérez, who confirms three charters of Urraca in 1123 and is cited also in a private document of León.[24] Little is known of him. In the second of the documents he is identified as "Gotherrius petrez orcus" (Auca?). A Guter Pérez confirms some ten other charters of Urraca between 1114 and 1124, so we may infer that he was probably a court figure. There was, however, another Guter Pérez, identified as "alter" in the private document of León.

In the earlier period, one Muño Gutiérrez served as majordomo between July 1109 and September 1110. It is not possible to identify him further.[25]

The office of alférez at the court of Urraca is almost invisible. In 1109 Count Pedro González twice appears as holding that dignity, but there is no subsequent appearance of the title for the remainder of the reign. It looks very much as though that rank was felt to be not quite grand enough

[23] Ibid., pp. 323-324. Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 240, is inclined to regard the Lope López of the court of Aragón as another person entirely.

[24] January 19, 1123; AC León, nos. 1.010, 1.011, 1.012, and 1.013. January 19, 1123; AC León, nos. 994 and 1.014, Tumbo, fol. 103v. November 5, 1123; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 98r, and Libro de Testamentos, fol. 215r; published in Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 3:54-55. November 11, 1123; published in María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I el Segovia," *Estudios segovianos* 19 (1967):22-23, from AC Segovia, Cajón 102, Pequeño Cartulario, fol. 2; and in Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70), 1:230-231.

[25] A document of Burgos dated February 28, 1112 mentions him as majordomo, but it is a thirteenth-century copy and the original may have read "merinus." See AHN, Clero, carp. 378, no. 1. For a similar reference in a charter of April 13, 1121, see ch. 5, note 7.

for Count Pedro once he became the lover and informal consort of Urraca. At the same time, the military aspects of the post were too important for the count to have allowed anyone else to hold it.

What is, in all probability, a very minor officialdom of largely clerical character is reflected occasionally in the charters when they are confirmed by a "clericus regine" or a "capellanus regine." Sometimes one or the other is pressed into service to compose a charter, and occasionally they go on to greater things. Thus, the "Historia Compostelana" tells us, a Chaplain Pedro of Urraca was elected to succeed a bishop of Lugo of the same name in 1113.[26]

In addition to the officials of the curia, whose ordinary presence may be presumed, the royal entourage had a floating membership, sometimes in attendance and sometimes not. Prominent among these were the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Palencia and León. Each of these prelates appeared as a confirmant in roughly a third of all Urraca's charters. It would be an exaggeration to speak of these three as "court bishops," but it is obvious that they were very frequently at court and the charters must indicate only some of those occasions. It is possible to regard them as regular advisers of the queen.

Less frequent members of the court are the incumbents of the important bishoprics of Astorga, Compostela, and Oviedo, each of whom appears as a confirmant in roughly fifteen percent of the royal charters. Symptomatic of the growing particularism of the Portuguese territories is the rarity of appearance of the archbishop of Braga or the bishops of Coimbra, Túy, and Porto. Similarly, in the east, the bishop of Calahorra never appears and the bishop of Burgos only infrequently.

Bishoprics like those of Ávila, Segovia, Sigüenza, and Zamora were, of course, reestablished only late in the reign but the bishops of the Gallegan sees of Lugo, Mondoñedo,

[26] Flórez, *ES*, 20:182-184.

and Orense and those of Osma and Salamanca were rarely at court. The evidence indicates that the abbots of the great monasteries of the realm played a surprisingly diminutive role in the court, even the abbot of Sahagún appearing very seldom.

The same evidence of the royal diplomas indicates that a group of lay magnates constituted an equally important group of advisers and consultants of the crown, at least some of whom seem to have been permanently resident at court. Of these, Count Pedro Ansúrez may be considered first. Señor of Carrión, Saldaña, and Cabezón, the great Leonese noble confirms some twenty-nine of Urraca's charters from 1109 until his death in 1117. His virtually continuous presence at the court and that of his nephew, the majordomo Guter Fernández, was one of the permanent political factors of the court until his death. Moreover, Count Pedro was allied, by the marriage of his daughter, to Alvar Fáñez until death removed the "duke" of Toledo from the scene in 1114.[27]

But the influence of the great Leonese count was already clearly second to that of the queen's lover, the Castilian Count Pedro González of Lara, who appears in no less than fifty-two of her charters. Pedro, who was count of both Lara and Medinaceli and held the fortress of Peñafiel on the Duero, was powerfully related also. His brother, Rodrigo González, was count of Asturias de Santillana and himself confirmed some fifteen of Urraca's charters.[28] Rodrigo was also the husband of Urraca's half sister the Infanta Sancha.[29] When that marriage took place is difficult to determine. This daughter of Alfonso VI and his fourth wife, Elizabeth, could not have

[27] See Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), p. 55.

[28] The relationship is most clearly stated in a document of Sahagún: December 12, 1122; AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 8.

[29] He so appears in a donation of May 10, 1125, made jointly with Queen Urraca herself to the Countess Agnes; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 46–48. Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 24, says the marriage was already a fact by 1118 but adduces no proof.

been born before 1101 at the earliest. It therefore seems likely that the marriage was part of the political arrangements of Urraca's reign and probably took place after 1112, when Pedro González had secured his own position and when the queen had a relatively free hand.

The strong position of Count Pedro González at court would have been further consolidated by the birth and then the betrothal or even marriage of his children by Urraca. When these children were born is impossible to say. Their son, Fernando Pérez, seems to make his earliest appearance in a private document of November 5, 1123, which Urraca and his half brother Alfonso Raimúndez confirm also.[30] When he married we do not know, but it was likely to have been after Urraca's death.[31] Their daughter, Elvira, was perhaps born earlier than her brother, making her debut in the documents in September 1117.[32] The authorities all assert that she was first married to García Pérez, son of Count Pedro Froilaz of Traba.[33] I can find no documentary warrant for it, but such a marriage would most likely have taken place, given her birth in 1112 at the earliest, sometime between 1120 and 1126 and was doubtless a part of the royal policy of pacifying Galicia. Her second marriage to Count Bertran, nephew and ally of Alfonso I of Aragón, must have occurred during the reign of Alfonso VII and may have been part of a settlement in Castilla with his former stepfather.[34]

The dynasty was not allied exclusively with the family of Lara, however. Nor is it likely that Urraca would have wished it to be. Her half sister the Infanta Elvira, born of Alfonso

[30] See note 24.

[31] For his subsequent career see Luis Salazar y Castro, *Historia de la casa de Lara* (Madrid, 1694), pp. 102-106.

[32] ASI León, Códices, no. 81, fols. 14r-17r, and notices with confirmants in Acad. Hist., Salazar y Castro, O-3, p. 225, and O-8, p. 224.

[33] Salazar y Castro, *Casa de Lara*, 2:99-101. He is followed by Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las reynas cathólicas de España* (Madrid, 1761), 1:257, and López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 4:126, n. 1.

[34] Salazar y Castro, *Casa de Lara*, 2:99-101; Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960), 1:266-267.

VI's marriage to Elizabeth of France, was married to Count Fernando Fernández. This union may have taken place relatively early in Urraca's reign, for already in 1117 the count appeared as the husband of the infanta in a donation that he and his wife made to Cluny.[35]

The monastery granted in that document was Ferrera in Galicia, but it may have been part of his wife's inheritance. Count Fernando himself seems to have been Leonese rather than a Gallegan. He is sometimes cited in the local documents of León. In 1120 his wife sold a property that she held as a result of their marriage and that appears to have been in the territory of León .[36] And in 1121 the count himself made a donation of property in the territory of León to a supporter.[37] Though a person of considerable influence in the realm, Count Fernando seems not to have been a regular member of the court. Only nine of the queen's charters bear his confirmation.

As for the remainder of the royal family, Urraca's daughter by Count Raymond, the Infanta Sancha, never married. Urraca's son Alfonso Raimúndez married first shortly after her death. It is fair to suppose that in both his case and that of her son Fernando, by the Count of Lara, Urraca opposed a marriage during her lifetime. Any such marriage would almost necessarily have created another nexus of power in the realm, one that could have been manipulated by others if not by the principals themselves. Finally, over her half sister Teresa of Portugal the queen simply had no control.

If Count Fernando Fernández was not a court figure de-

[35] July 8, 1117; Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:280-282. Alfonso VI had yet another daughter named Elvira, born of a mistress and sister of Teresa of Portugal. Her father had married her to Count Raymond of Toulouse, and it may have been her aid that Henry of Portugal sought in 1111. Since this Elvira did not return to the realm until after Urraca's death, we need not be concerned. See José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "La Infanta Doña Elvira, hija de Alfonso VI y de Gimera Muñoz a la luz de los diplomas," *AL* 33 (1979):271-287.

[36] December 17, 1120; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 99.

[37] February 25, 1121; AD León, Monasterio de Gradefes, no. 19.

spite his royal marriage, there were roughly a half-dozen other magnates who can reasonably be so styled. One of the most important of them is Pedro López, brother of two of Urraca's majordomos, Jimeno and Lope López. He confirms nineteen royal diplomas between 1114 and 1125. After the death of Count Pedro Ansúrez in 1117, Pedro López comes into possession of the strategic point of Saldaña and, probably, Ansúrez's other lands along the upper reaches of the Río Carrión.

The impressive position of Castilian and Riojan nobles at court was effectively balanced by the continuing influence of those of León. Besides those already mentioned is Count Froila Díaz of Astorga. Count Froila had been prominent in the later years of the reign of Alfonso VI and an early associate of Count Raymond. As count of Astorga he held that key position for Urraca and against Alfonso of Aragón in the years 1110-1112. Between 1109 and 1119, when he disappears from the documents, Count Froila confirmed twenty-seven of the queen's charters.

Pedro Díaz also confirmed twenty-seven of her charters. Again, he is a figure from the later court of Alfonso VI and seems to have had some slight connection with Count Raymond. But there is no discernible family connection between him and Count Froila. He seems to have been Leonese, appearing in the private documents of the monastery of Gradefes.[38] In 1118 he held the critical position of the towers of that city. He apparently supported Urraca through the troubled last years of her reign and is portrayed as a rebel against Alfonso VII at the beginning of his reign.[39]

Although Count Suero Vermúdez held the very impor-

[38] February 20, 1117; AD León, Gradefes, no. 16, is a donation of his own. The name is fairly common, of course, and two persons of that name confirm Urraca's donation of March 27, 1112; see ch. 2, note 107. One of these is most likely the Pedro Díaz of Asturias. See Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 246-247. But the latter is unlikely to have been frequently at court. See also Carlos Estepa Díez, *Estructura social de la ciudad de León* (León, 1977), pp. 259-260.

[39] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 20-21.

tant castle of Luna in the mountains of León from at least 1117 until 1125 and was styled count of León in 1114 and again in 1116, it would be misleading to see him as a purely Leonese magnate. He had been important in the later court of Alfonso VI, had figured in the circle of Count Raymond, and also held the district of Monteroso in Galicia. He was married to the Countess Enderquina, who endowed the see of Burgos in 1120, which marriage connected him very well with the Castilian nobility.[40] He was himself related to the old royal family of León through his grandmother. His donation to Cluny in 1124 comprised lands scattered through the whole kingdom north of the Duero.[41] Suero Vermúdez confirms, as such, eighteen of Urraca's charters. Including the confirmations given merely as Count Suero, he confirms thirty-one.

The major holdings of the family may have been concentrated in León, however. Count Suero is most likely a relative, probably a brother, of Rodrigo Vermúdez, whose name appears seventeen times as confirmant in the Urracan diplomas.[42] Private documents of León suggest that the latter was identified primarily with that area.

Although, as we have seen, nobles with definite Galician connections such as Froila Díaz and Suero Vermúdez were regularly part of the court of Urraca, almost no purely Gallegan magnates seem to have been resident at court. One exception might have been Rodrigo Vélaz, Count of Lemos and Sarria in eastern Galicia. He confirmed eighteen of Urraca's charters, sixteen of them between 1112 and 1120.[43] Count Rodrigo also seems to have been a newcomer to such circles; there are few notices of his presence in the court of Alfonso VI.

[40] March 4, 1120, published in Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:150-152 and n. 1.

[41] Floriano Cumbreño, *Cornellana*, 1:191-194.

[42] See Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 254-255.

[43] Ibid., p. 254, for additional information.

On the other hand, one is hesitant to see Count Pedro Froilaz as a member of court. True, he confirms some fifteen diplomas of Urraca—a surprising number for a noble, sometimes rebel, who led the party of her son. Still, that number includes nine donations to Gallegan sees or monasteries, eight of which were probably granted in Galicia itself, where the count would have been present for just that reason. After 1121 Count Pedro does not appear at all in the queen's documents.

Whereas the Gallegan presence in the curia was very scant, that of the original heartland of the kingdom, Asturias, was nonexistent. No noble of that province appears with any regularity in the documents. It may be that Count Rodrigo Múñoz, who held the important Asturian fortress of Aguilar all through this period, was usually present. Many of the diplomas of Urraca were confirmed by a Count Rodrigo, but there are five known other Rodrigos who could have been so designated. The main influence from that province in the court seems to have been Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, who confirmed fifteen royal charters. Despite the lack of attention, Asturias remained remarkably loyal to Urraca, although it often sowed revolts against her son and successor.

The region south of the Duero was also very weakly represented. Perhaps the demands of the frontier precluded any substantial residence at court. Perhaps, too, the influence in those lands first of Alfonso I of Aragón and then of Alfonso Raimúndez made it impolitic for holders of land there to follow Urraca's court. The one obvious exception is Fernando Garciaz of Hita and Guadalajara. He seems to have confirmed at least twelve charters. In 1107 this somewhat mysterious person was alcalde of Medinaceli and Guadalajara.[44] When Urraca granted him the villages of Hita and Uceda in 1119, he had just married Estefanía Armengol, the granddaughter of Count Pedro Ansúrez.[45] Fernando was thus

[44] Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 2:38.

[45] See ch. 4, note 64.

solidly ensconced in the trans-Duero and to the northeast of Toledo. This key region was the focus of interest for the Murābits, Alfonso of Aragón, and Urraca over the next six years and vital to the reconquest of Sigüenza, which Urraca was to effect in 1124. It is possible that the reason for Urraca's confidence in Fernando was that he was her first cousin, son of the ill-fated King García of Galicia.[46]

From this overall picture the court of Urraca emerges as a relatively small body. A reasonable estimate would have it comprised of an average of four notaries and perhaps two minor clerics, a majordomo, three bishops fairly regularly present and an average of two other bishops from one see or another whose attendance is occasional, and a group of eight great nobles regularly present with perhaps another dozen whose presence also varies with the occasion or location. Altogether, allowing for one other member of the royal family, the curia, or consultative body for major decisions, would number just over thirty.

Because the charters usually do not specify their place of issue, it is difficult to trace the geographic movements of the court. Sporadic notices in the contemporary chronicles and the substance of the charters indicate that León or Sahagún was the preferred place to spend the winter months from

[46] Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds. *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 1:125-140, call attention to a donation of Urraca to Estefanía Armengol, dated June 30, 1119, in which the queen refers to the latter as "mea cogermana." The relationship makes sense only as a reference to Estefanía's husband. The same authorities published Fernando Garciaz's marriage contract with Estefanía, pp. 141-147 and n. 1. They accepted the descent of Fernando from García of Galicia but did not identify him with Fernando Garciaz "de Hita" because they did not know the charter of Urraca to the latter in 1119, which mentions his wife. If this relationship of Urraca and Fernando Garciaz is accepted, it makes more significant the fact that he was the person mentioned by "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún" in 1111 who was entrusted first with winning Count Henry of Portugal away from his alliance with Alfonso of Aragón and then with reestablishing relations with the Aragonese monarch when Urraca broke with Count Henry; Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., *BRAH* 76 (1920):247 and 249.

November through March. From April through October, when the needs of campaigning and political accommodation were most pressing, the court moved to the perimeters of the realm. During the years 1113 to 1116 that most frequently meant the Burgos area, for the frontier with Aragón was practically undefined. From 1117 to 1121 the court tended to take up residence in or near Galicia as Urraca sought to maintain and enlarge her hold on that province and Portugal. After 1121, a new level of activity in the region beyond the Duero moved it to the region of Soria and Sigüenza.

If the itinerary of the court corresponded roughly to the political realities of the kingdom, so did its composition. León-Castilla was the nucleus of Urraca's realm, and the ordinary presence of the bishops of León and Palencia in the curia reflect that fact. At the same time, the presence as well of the archbishop of Toledo indicates both the importance of the primate of the peninsula and the firm intention of the queen to maintain her claims to that virtually new kingdom beyond the Guadarramas. The practical loss of Rioja and the tenuous character of Urraca's hold on eastern Castilla are reflected in the lack of attendance by the bishops of Calahorra and, usually, Burgos.

In the west the loss of Portugal and the threatened loss, for a substantial period, of the Zamora, Salamanca, and Túy regions find similar expression. Galicia, Asturias, and even Astorga, though integral parts of the kingdom, were increasingly peripheral to its fundamental politics, as the uneven attendance of their respective prelates demonstrates. On the other hand, political relations were close, almost too close for the desires of some, with Galicia, and two of the five royal notaries can be identified with the church of Santiago.

Identification of the nobles ordinarily attendant on the queen illustrates much the same phenomena. Count Pedro González, his brother, Rodrigo, and Guter Fernández are the greatest nobles of Castilla. The disproportionate number of Riojans at court—the brothers Jimeno, Lope, and Pedro López—probably reflects the uncomfortably great power of the

Aragonese king in those territories if they are not simply exiles. On the other hand, León is amply represented by Count Pedro Ansúrez, Count Froila Díaz, Pedro Díaz, Count Suero Vermúdez, and Rodrigo Vermúdez. Again the border areas have few or no representatives. The choices of husbands for the royal infantas reflect the same priorities.

But it will not do to overstate such dependence or concentration. The realm had not, and would not, become León and Castilla simply. The composition and movements of the court would have been much the same under Alfonso VI as they were under his daughter. Allowing for the attritions of time, there is a very strong continuity in personnel, both episcopal and noble, between their courts. Alfonso VI had, after all, made Pedro Ansúrez guardian of Urraca, and the prelate who witnessed and composed the history of the latter's reign, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, outlived her handily.

A strong, traditional influence is reflected in chancery practice, though not in personnel, under Urraca. The great magnates of the realm are ordinarily not purely provincial figures. Like Suero Vermúdez, Guter Fernández, and Froila Díaz, they have family and property ties almost as wide as the peninsula. The empire that was the inheritance of Urraca was in no danger of being forgotten or heedlessly sacrificed by any of these elements or persons. It was at once problem and promise for them as well as for the queen herself.

EIGHT

BISHOPS UNDER THE CROWN

In the twelfth century the Church was, in León-Castilla as everywhere in western Europe, a great social institution, involved at every level in politics and economics as well as in matters more narrowly considered religious. Nowhere was that interaction between the Church as institution and the other powers of society so intense as in the persons and office of the episcopacy. The monasticism of Cluny continued to be important and that of Cîteaux was raising new questions of direction, organization, and purpose, but the growing emphasis of the papal reform movement on structures and law increasingly found focus in the episcopal office. The bishops themselves, whether giving body to old claims or jurisdiction over the diocesan countryside or adapting to the new demands of the burgeoning towns, were conscious and confident of the prestige of their office.

Such vigor had profound implications for every contemporary monarch in western Europe, yet everywhere the circumstances in which a proper response had to be framed differed somewhat. Urraca's reactions and solutions must of necessity vary from those of Henry I of England, Louis VI of France, or Henry V of Germany. Yet all these monarchs had a single purpose in view: they had to continue to control their bishops. The extent of secular power vested implicitly as well as explicitly in the episcopal office determined that the bishop would be a rival if he was not a subordinate. A bishop's position as a subordinate of another, pope or noble, placed what the crown perceived as intolerable limits on the scope of action necessary to the monarch.

The demands of ideology, law, and custom would eventually be adjudicated by the several political dynamics of the

great monarchies of the west. It is no exaggeration, however, to assert that the allocation of the right to select the bishop was the central political problem of the first half of the twelfth century.

In León-Castilla bishops condemned Urraca's marriage to Alfonso of Aragón, supported rebellion on behalf of her son, and organized military expeditions in the defense of her realm against Aragonese in the east and Muslims in the south. For Urraca to have been either unconscious of their power or indifferent to it was inpossible.

But the opportunities for the queen to select her bishops were limited. In the east Calahorra had passed within the orbit of Aragón. In the west, Braga and Coimbra had similarly gravitated toward a nascent Portugal, or at least a de facto independent half sister. Túy and Orense threatened to do the same, and for a time Burgos in Castilla was held by the king of Aragón.

Yet Urraca did exercise some initiatives in the selection of bishops, as the surviving records indicate. Twenty-one bishoprics lay within her domains. Of these, four—Ávila, Segovia, Sigüenza, and Zamora—were established only in the last six years of her reign and constituted particular problems. Of the remaining seventeen, another five—Santiago de Compostela, Orense, Oviedo, Palencia, and Túy—were held by bishops chosen during the reign of her father who lived on into the reign of her son. In only twelve sees did she have the theoretical opportunity to make a choice. The choice once made, all but three of those bishops outlived the queen, so only three reappointments could be made. Such was the field for royal initiative.

Other circumstances narrowed that scope even more. The primatial see of Toledo had been held, at Urraca's accession, by Archbishop Bernard for almost a quarter of a century. Bernard, a Cluniac monk, had been sent to the peninsula by the great Abbot Hugh at the request of Alfonso VI. Installed first as abbot of Sahagún in 1080 and then in Toledo after its reconquest, Bernard had filled the bishoprics of the kingdom as often as he could with Frenchmen whom he had

personally recruited. His protégés held Osma, Palencia, and Salamanca in 1109.

Bernard's successes in this regard flowed not only from his primatial authority and his close working relationship with Alfonso VI but also from the fact that Pope Urban II in 1088 had made Toledo the metropolitan see for all dioceses whose traditional metropolitan see lay still within Muslim territory. On April 25, 1093 Pope Urban had added to that authority the papal legateship in the peninsula.[1]

As we have already seen, Archbishop Bernard was a regular member of the court of Urraca. If in some respects his authority and power rivaled her own, the queen needed him. His connection with the past glories of her father's reign and his hostility to the power of Alfonso of Aragón within León-Castilla worked to legitimize her own position. If it involved her in Toledo's quarrels with Braga and Santiago de Compostela over its primatial and legatine rights, still the fight of Toledo was Urraca's fight as she attempted to strengthen her own authority over those outlying, sometimes rebellious areas.

For fifteen years the two were allies until the archbishop's death at the beginning of April 1125. Even the date of Bernard's death is strangely obscure and most of the circumstances surrounding the election of his successor are lost.[2] The bull of Honorius II dated November 30, 1125 confirmed

[1] October 15, 1088; J. P. Migne, ed., *PL*, 122 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 151:290; J-W, 5370. April 25, 1093; Fidel Fita, "Bula inédita de Urbano II, 25 abril 1093," *BRAH* 5 (1884):97-98; J-W, 5643.

[2] The thirteenth-century chroniclers are confused and must be corrected from the documents. Ángel González Palencia, *El Arzobispo Don Raimundo de Toledo* (Barcelona, 1942), p. 52, dates his death to April 2, 1125. The last known documentary reference to Bernard is dated March 26, 1125; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 516-518. Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo* XII (Rome, 1966), p. 193, and *Los arzobispos de Toledo en la baja Edad Media* (Toledo, 1969), p. 17, places his death in April of 1124. But the latter accepts the date of the diploma of Alfonso VI to Archbishop Raymond given as February 10, 1125; AHN, Sección de Códices, 987B, fols. 12v-13r; AC Toledo, sigs. A.3.A.1.1 and A.3.A.1.1a. I redate that charter to 1129 based on the reference to Queen Berengaria, married to Alfonso in 1127, and the presence of Rodrigo Vermúdez as majordomo.

the election of Bishop Raymond of Osma to Toledo by the "suffragan bishops, clergy, and people of Toledo."[3] This formula beloved of the papal chancery may or may not have corresponded to actual events. But Honorius spoke also of the letters of transmittal that had informed him, one of them from Alfonso VII. Urraca was not mentioned.

It is clear from the bull that Urraca was not directly involved in the choice of Bernard's successor as archbishop of Toledo. By 1125 the kingdom of Toledo undoubtedly had passed to her son as a side effect of Bernard's death. She may have been consulted and it is unlikely that she would have objected. As Bishop of Osma, Raymond had not been a regular part of her court but he had confirmed eight of her charters, the most recent in 1124. He was a protégé of Archbishop Bernard, and Urraca had probably agreed to Raymond's promotion to Osma in 1109. In 1125 he was a safe choice for a fledgling monarch and a satisfactory one to an ailing queen.

Much the same circumstances must have prevailed in the choice of a successor to Raymond at Osma. Eventually Bertrand, a canon of Toledo and another of the Frenchmen brought to Spain by Archbishop Bernard, succeeded but his reelection may have been delayed, for there is no notice of his episcopacy dating before 1128.[4] If it is not due merely to a lacuna in the documents, the long wait may have been occasioned either by the death of Urraca in March 1126 or by the necessity to consider the possible opinion of Alfonso

[3] Published with an explication of the proper date by Fidel Fita, "Dos bulas inéditas de Honorio II," *BRAH* 7 (1885):414-423. Another documentary notice of Archbishop Raymond in 1125 occurs in a charter of Urraca to Silos that has some diplomatic problems: July 21, 1125; published in Juan de Alamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:189-191. However, on September 11, 1125 Raymond confirmed the charter of Alfonso Raimúndez to the monastery of San Pedro de las Dueñas; see ch. 6, note 67.

[4] For the latest consideration of the question of his origin and episcopacy s.v. "Beltran," *DHGE*, ed. Albert DeMeyer and Etienne Cauwenbergh (Paris, 1934):7:955-956.

of Aragón, for the Burgo de Osma was a sensitive outpost on the upper Duero.

Although Queen Urraca never had the opportunity to name her own primate-archbishop, the episcopal level offered more occasions for choice. That may have been true of Osma in 1109. Bishop Pedro died in August 1109 at Sahagún and his successor, Raymond, may have been chosen at the curia there that approved the marriage of Alfonso I and Urraca.[5] Archbishop Bernard's candidate, he would have almost automatically received the approval of the new queen. He would hardly have become bishop once the marriage was consummated, for he appears as an opponent of Alfonso of Aragón.[6]

Following that marriage, fortunately for Urraca and just as unfortunately for her new husband's chances to consolidate his hold on his new possessions, there were no deaths among the bishops until the spring of 1112. The next two years offered major opportunities to the queen and her supporters.

In April and May of 1112, when Urraca was in Galicia organizing support for a counteroffensive against Alfonso of Aragón and working out a temporary alliance with Count Henry of Portugal, the canons Muño Alfónsez and Hugh of Santiago de Compostela were elected to the sees of Mondoñedo in Galicia and Oporto in Portugal, respectively. The election was a major triumph for the church of Santiago and its bishop, Diego Gelmírez, and is so presented by our source. It also involved financial and property considerations for Archbishop Maurice of Braga.[7] But there can be no doubt

[5] Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70), 1:215, n. 55; Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 263. I have been unable to find notice of him in the documents before 1113.

[6] Enrique Flórez, ed., HC, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:139 and 141.

[7] Ibid., pp. 144-149.

that the assent of Urraca and of Count Henry had to be secured to such an arrangement.

The election probably took place at Urraca's Easter court in Santiago on April 21, 1112.[8] The "Historia Compostelana" gives no details, stating only "facta utriusque election."[9] That laconic observation dismisses an election that cannot have been routine. It involved the advancement of two canons of Santiago, formerly a suffragan see of Braga but exempt since 1095, to two of the other suffragan sees of Braga. The later drive of Santiago to displace Braga as metropolitan of the province was already implicit in it.

Moreover, it involved as well the deposition of Bishop Pedro of Mondoñedo, who had supported Alfonso of Aragón in 1110.[10] Such violent changes could not have been carried through, even by Gelmírez, without the full support of Urraca. The two bishops-elect were consecrated at Lérez in Galicia on Passion Sunday, March 23, 1113, by the archbishop of Braga in concert with the bishops of Santiago, Túy, and Orense.[11]

The church of León also saw rapid alterations in 1112. During the summer of that eventful year its venerable Bishop Pedro died.[12] Moreover, during the confused days following

[8] Muño Alfónsez begins to appear as bishop-elect in Urraca's charters of May 1112 and May 31, 1112; see ch. 2, note 115. He was cited as bishop in a private document of March 15, 1112; published in Santiago Montero Díaz, ed., "La colección diplomática de San Martín de Jubia," *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* 7 (1935):68-69. It should, however, be dated later because Gelmírez appears in it as archbishop. The earliest document in which Hugh appears as bishop of Oporto is open to serious doubts; May 10, 1112, published in Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:43 and 570-576.

[9] Flórez, *ES*, 20:145.

[10] Richard A. Fletcher, "Obispos olvidados del siglo XII de la diócesis de Mondoñedo y de Lugo," *CEG* 28 (1973):318-321.

[11] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:147.

[12] His last appearance is in a private document of the Galician monastery of Lorenzana, dated June 13, 1112, confirmed by Urraca and six other bishops besides Pedro; AHN, Códices, 1.044B, fols. 14v-15r. But possibly it should be dated a month earlier. See ch. 2, note 120.

the death of Count Henry of Portugal in May and before the last brief reconciliation of Urraca and Alfonso el Batallador, Archbishop Maurice of Braga appeared in León, presumably by permission of the latter. A private document of June 3, 1112 of León reads "Mauritus archiepiscopus in legione" but does not tell us in what capacity.[13] León was not an archbishopric.

Not until October 1, 1112 does a new bishop of León, Diego, appear. All the evidence points to the likelihood that he was Urraca's choice. For one thing, he was the nephew of his predecessor and subsequently, like his uncle, her firm supporter and regular companion.[14] For another, the flagging fortunes of Alfonso of Aragón during the late summer of that year make it unlikely that he would have had sufficient influence. Finally, the subsequent deposition of Bishop Diego at the Council of Carrión in 1130 through the machinations of Alfonso VII and Gelmírez of Santiago make it unlikely that Diego was of the Raimundist faction.[15]

Within a year Urraca also secured the promotion of one of her chaplains, Pedro, to the see of Lugo. That city had supported Alfonso of Aragón, and its bishop, another Pedro, was discredited if not implicated. At the Council of Palencia in October 1113, according to the "Historia Compostelana," he asked to be relieved of the episcopacy. When some of the clergy of the church of Lugo asked Archbishop Bernard of Toledo for a new bishop, we are told, those clerics and "other venerable persons designated" the chaplain of Urraca, who

[13] AC León, no. 1.385. It also cites Alfonso of Aragón as ruling in León.

[14] October 1, 1112; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 38-39, a private document that he believed to be an original. For a brief synopsis of his career see Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 69-70.

[15] For the Council of Carrión and the deposition of the Leonese bishop, see Bernard F. Reilly, "On Getting to be a Bishop in León-Castile: The Emperor Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 1 (1978):49-50.

was then dispatched to Lugo to be canonically "promoted."[16]

Subsequently Archbishop Bernard wrote to Bishops Gelmírez of Santiago, Muño Alfónsez of Mondoñedo, Alfonso of Túy, and Diego of Orense stating that the clergy and people of Lugo had elected the queen's chaplain as their bishop. He asked them to certify that the election was canonical and, if they so found, to see that the elect was duly consecrated by Gelmírez, who would act as Bernard's vicar. These precautions were sensible given, first, the peculiar circumstances of the election itself, and second, that the consecration was not to be performed by Maurice of Braga. The latter was the metropolitan of Lugo but had been suspended from his office for disobedience to Rome, according to Bernard. Archbishop Bernard entitled himself not primate but Roman legate. Those so charged found the election canonical, and Urraca's chaplain was consecrated at Santiago on April 25, 1114 by Gelmírez in the presence of Bishops Muño Alfonso of Mondoñedo and Diego of Orense.[17]

Later that same year a new, crucial struggle developed over the selection of a bishop of Burgos. The contest between León and Aragón for control of the chief city of Castilla had been begun by Urraca in 1113 and was to continue until its definitive recovery by her son in 1127. The choice of a friendly bishop there was central to the interests of both contestants.

On October 4, 1114 Bishop García Aznárez died.[18] Appointed during the reign of Alfonso VI, García had been a

[16] Flórez, *ES*, 20:182-183. The account is written with extreme care. It also mentions that the former bishop had been harassed by one "Count R." José Campelo, ed., *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Manuel Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), p. 178, n. 1, identifies him as Count Rodrigo Vélaz, whom we have seen as a regular supporter of Urraca. I believe the identification likely. For Bishop Pedro's subsequent career see Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 65-66.

[17] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:183-184.

[18] Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:389.

supporter of Urraca, and the "Historia Compostelana" tells of his expulsion from Burgos by the king of Aragón as a result.[19] When he died, El Batallador was in control of the city.

As luck would have it, however, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo had called a council at León for October 18, 1114. Documentation of that assemblage derives largely from the "Historia Compostelana," which publishes the canons.[20] Bishop García may actually have been at court with some of his entourage when he died, for his successor, Paschal, seems to have been elected at that council by direction of Bernard of Toledo.[21] Because Burgos had been directly dependent on Rome and exempt from any metropolitan jurisdiction since 1099, Bernard wrote informing Pope Paschal II of his election and requesting permission to consecrate him.

Alfonso of Aragón was prepared to accept none of this. Instead, he secured the election of his own brother, Ramiro, by the clergy and people of Burgos and wrote to Rome himself, challenging the election of the archdeacon Paschal on the grounds that neither he nor the people of Burgos knew of it. On April 10, 1115 Pope Paschal wrote to Archbishop Bernard informing him of the challenge and requesting him, as papal legate, to convoke a council to judge between the candidates.[22]

Such a council met, presumably in the early summer of 1115, for on August 19, 1115 the pope again wrote to Archbishop Bernard complaining of the precipitation with which it had proceeded to the consecration of Paschal after deciding

[19] Flórez, *ES*, 20:116 and 139. [20] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

[21] He appears as bishop-elect in Urraca's charter of October 28, 1114. See ch. 3, note 44.

[22] Migne, *PL*, 163:380, J-W, 6455. This letter is the chief source for the development of the dispute. A charter of Alfonso of Aragón dated February 1116 cites "episcopus Ruderenimus in Burgis"; published in Amancio Rodríguez López, *El real monasterio de las Huelgas y Burgos y el hospital del rey*, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1907), 2:329-330; and in Pascual Galindo Romeo, "Un documento de Alfonso I de Aragón en la cancillería real castellana," *Homenaje a Don Augustín Millares Carlo* (Grand Canary, 1975), 2:130-131.

for him. The pope summoned all parties to Rome for Easter of 1116, but none of them in fact made the trip.[23] Bishop Paschal meanwhile functioned as prelate of Burgos, confirming six charters of Urraca in 1116 and 1117.[24] His presence in the Council of Burgos of 1117 indicates his eventual acceptance by both the pope and the Aragonese king. Urraca and the primate of Toledo had won the first round.

On October 13, 1118 Bishop Paschal of Burgos died.[25] Alfonso of Aragón was bending every energy toward the successful conclusion of the siege of Zaragoza at this time, and Urraca seems to have taken advantage of his preoccupation to secure the election of one Jimeno as bishop of Burgos. We know little about him except that he appears as confirmant of two of her charters in early 1119 as bishop-elect.[26] Perhaps he had been chosen at her Christmas court of 1118. In any event, she was not going to repeat the hasty consecration of 1115. Once again, the Aragonese king was not disposed to accept the *fait accompli*. He seems again to have effected an election of his own candidate, and as late as September 1121 a document of his cites one García Sanz as bishop-elect of Burgos.[27]

Resolution of this dispute was to be long delayed by Alfonso's claims. In addition, the death of Pope Paschal II in

[23] The only text of the bull is given in the prologue of Flórez, *ES*, 26. Both Serrano, *Obispado*, 1:386-388, and Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, pp. 168-169, assume that Alfonso of Aragón prevented Paschal from going.

[24] An earlier charter of Urraca that he confirmed, May 28, 1114, is badly dated at least; BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 705, fol. 19.

[25] Serrano, *Obispado*, 1:393.

[26] February 22, 1119; published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 169-171. March 26, 1119; AHN, Clero, carp. 375, no. 2, published in Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 43-45, and in Francisco de Sota, *Crónica de los príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid, 1681), pp. 660-661. He is mentioned, still as bishop-elect, in a private donation to Silos, September 20, 1120; published in Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:302-304.

[27] José María Lacarra, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," *EEMCA* 2 (1946):491-492.

early 1118, the briefness of the pontificate of his successor, Gelasius II, and the election of an antipope at Rome in the early days of the pontificate of Calixtus II (1119-1124) meant additional delay. In 1121 Calixtus II seems to have authorized the consecration of Jimeno by the bishops of Palencia, Oviedo, León, and Salamanca, but this action never took place.[28] Not until early April 1124 was Jimeno finally consecrated, and then it was at a council in Santiago de Compostela with Gelmírez officiating. Cardinal Boso, papal legate in the peninsula at that time, conceded this privilege to the latter and protected the rights of Rome and the exempt status of Burgos. Our source tells us that the consecration was impossible in Burgos because of the hostility of Alfonso of Aragón.[29]

Thus, Queen Urraca managed to retain control of the crucial bishopric of Burgos in the east. In the west the situation was much more complex. There she was at first allied with the archbishop of Toledo, whose attempts to assert the power of the primacy over the metropolitan see of Braga and to enforce his legatine power ran parallel to Urraca's own desires to limit and subject the authority of her half sister the Infanta Teresa. The alliance with Braga and Count Henry, which had led to the promotions of the canons Hugh and Muño of Compostela to the sees of Oporto and Mondoñedo in early 1112, had foundered on the count's death, the intransigence of Teresa as his successor, and Archbishop Maurice of Braga's interference in the see of León in June of 1112.

At least by the time of the Council of Palencia in October 1113, the counteroffensive against Braga had begun. One of

[28] Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:153, publishes such a bull, which unfortunately bears the name of Paschal II. He accounts for it as a scribal error and says that the date might also be 1122 or 1123. Another private document of February 19, 1124, which he calls an original, mentions Jimeno as bishop. But the citation of Alfonso VII as ruling, without mention of Urraca, makes it likely that the document must be of a later date if it can be accepted at all.

[29] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:414-419.

his suffragans, Bishop Pedro of Lugo, was there deposed in favor of Urraca's chaplain, and Archbishop Maurice himself, a former protégé of Bernard of Toledo, was suspended by the latter for disobedience to the legatine authority. By April 18, 1114 Pope Paschal II had been influenced to support the suspension with his own authority, citing specifically Maurice's invasion of the see of León. Archbishop Bernard wrote to Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago asking him to publish the sentence among Braga's suffragans and to inform the Infanta Teresa.[30]

As when Bernard authorized him to consecrate the new bishop of Lugo in 1113, the primate was bidding for Gelmírez's support. Even so late as March 1113, the latter had been cooperating with Maurice of Braga, who consecrated Hugh and Muño to his own suffragan sees of Oporto and Mondoñedo at that time. By the fall of 1114 the bishop of Santiago had deserted Maurice. At the Council of Palencia of October 1113, the physical location of the see of Mondoñedo had been transferred to Vallibriense; this action clearly concerned its metropolitan at Braga. On November 17, 1114 Bishop Diego Gelmírez promulgated the canons of the Council of León at the request of Archbishop Bernard. Participating in this local council were five of the suffragans of Braga, including Bishop Muño Alfonso styling himself "Vallibriensis." Moreover, the assembled bishops agreed to meet each year during Lent for the correction of evils that had come to their attention.[31] Under the guise of a *confraternitatas* Bishop Gelmírez was fashioning an episcopal synod for the province of Braga that would be under his leadership.

It is unlikely that Archbishop Bernard fully realized the dangerous potential of his new ally. Since the time of King

[30] Ibid., pp. 184-185.

[31] Ibid., pp. 190-192. Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 62, suggests that local considerations played a large part in the transference of the see. Even so, the action required consent of its metropolitan Pope Paschal apparently assumed such agreement and had accepted the action by June 18, 1114. See Demetrio Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216* (Rome, 1955), p. 68.

Alfonso II of Asturias in the early ninth century, the shrine of Saint James the Great at Santiago had gradually become the center of a great international pilgrimage. The shrine church of the Apostle James had absorbed the old see of Iria Flavia, won the patronage of the Leonese kings, and secured independence from the metropolitan of Braga in 1095 by papal authority. Since the latter part of the eleventh century a great new Romanesque church had been rising over the relics of Santiago. In Bishop Diego Gelmírez, Santiago had found a servant who could envision his church as an archbishopric, its archbishop as a papal legate, and even Santiago de Compostela as the primatial see of the peninsula. By 1115 Bishop Diego Gelmírez was petitioning Rome for the translation to Compostela of the metropolitanate of either Mérida or Braga itself.[32]

The three-cornered ecclesiastical rivalry that developed from late 1114 among Toledo, Braga, and Compostela ultimately destroyed the career of Archbishop Maurice of Braga and gravely threatened the independence of his church. Papal policy during the early part of this period seems to have been aimed at maintaining some kind of balance and adjudicating the claims of the rivals, but both the ecclesiastical and political dynamics in the Iberian peninsula proved too strong to be moderated by a distant and intermittent authority, however exalted.

Archbishop Maurice managed to exonerate himself at Rome or at least to give a satisfactory account of his ill-advised intervention in León. On December 4, 1114 Pope Paschal wrote to him confirming the boundaries of his see, indicating that his suspension had been lifted.[33] Seven months later, on July 23, 1115, he wrote to Archbishop Maurice again, advis-

[32] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:192-194 and 255-259. The only modern biography of this controversial prelate is by Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington, D.C., 1949).

[33] Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 40:351; Migne, *PL*, 163:361-362; J-W, 6414. Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du* VI^e *au* XII^e *siècle* (Paris, 1947), p. 463, believed that Maurice visited Rome early in 1114.

ing him of the translation of the see of Mondoñedo to Vallibriense and inviting him to reopen the question as metropolitan of Mondoñedo when the legate whom the pope was planning to dispatch arrived.[34] Less than four months later, on November 3, 1115, Paschal dispatched two more letters defending the claims of Braga in the most sweeping fashion.

One of them threatened Bishop Gonçalvo of Coimbra with suspension if he did not recognize Braga as his metropolitan within forty days.[35] That prelate, who doubtless preferred the distant authority of Toledo to the uncomfortably proximate one of Braga, claimed that in antiquity Coimbra had been a suffragan of Mérida. Since the latter was still in the hands of the Muslim, Archbishop Bernard would have exercised metropolitan jurisdiction. In the other letter, the pope relieved Bernard of Toledo of his legatine status for the province of Braga on the grounds that Bernard had tried to detach Coimbra from its lawful metropolitan, had expelled Lugo's bishop from his see and substituted another, and had withdrawn territory from the bishopric of Astorga and bestowed it on that of Salamanca.[36]

In the struggle, which had occupied the preceding two years, Braga had scored a remarkable victory that would not be allowed to stand. It confounded too many conceptions of rights, too many ambitions, ecclesiastical as well as political. Moreover, the appeal to the conditions of antiquity produced a welter of conflicting and manufactured evidence, malleable in its plenitude.

The second letter of November 1115 illustrates well the incompatibility of the papal decision and actual conditions. Based on an appeal to antique practice, the archbishop of Braga could claim as suffragans all the bishoprics of Galicia except Compostela, exempt by papal decree since 1095. He

[34] Migne, *PL*, 163:383; J-W, 6460.

[35] Migne, *PL*, 163:390-391; J-W, 6474.

[36] Risco, *ES*, 41:295-296; Migne, *PL*, 163:391. Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 174, n. 163, defends this dating of the second letter against Erdmann and David, who would redate it to 1114. I agree with the historian of Toledo.

could also claim Astorga, Palencia, Segovia, Osma, and Ávila, and the Portuguese sees, including Coimbra. The new bishoprics of Oviedo and León, created essentially by the Reconquista and exempt from metropolitan jurisdiction by papal action since 1103, might possibly also be claimed.[37]

Queen Urraca could not, and would not, accept such authority in the hands of a prelate essentially subject to the influence of the Infanta Teresa. Archbishop Bernard of Toledo defended the prerogatives of his own metropolitan authority over Palencia, Segovia, Osma, and Ávila. Unless the metropolitan status of Braga were translated to Compostela, Bishop Gelmírez had no intention of allowing the sees of Galicia to escape his control. As the future was to demonstrate, the claims of Braga ran parallel to the ambitions of the sovereign of an emerging Portugal and would be just as effective as the real power of that sovereign could make them; no less and no more.

Indeed, the papacy itself had already found it desirable to intervene in the archiepiscopate of Braga. On August 15, 1115 Pope Paschal had made Oporto directly dependent on Rome.[38] Five days later, on April 20, 1115, he had found for Oporto in a boundary dispute with Bishop Gonçalvo of Coimbra.[39] Bishop Hugh of Oporto, who had been in Rome in 1115 on behalf of both Gelmírez and himself, was back in Rome by March 24, 1116.[40] At this time the pope also granted him the administration of the unrestored diocese of Lamego, another of Braga's suffragans, hitherto administered by Bishop Gonçalvo of Coimbra.[41]

[37] David, *Études*, p. 457, and especially Demetrio Mansilla, "Orígenes de la organización metropolitana en la Iglesia española," *HS* 12 (1959):270-271.

[38] Migne, *PL*, 163:385-386; J-W, 6463.

[39] Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 167-168, and a notice in Migne, *PL*, 163:387, with the date August 19, 1115; J-W, 6464.

[40] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:202-203; Migne, *PL*, 163:402-404.

[41] Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1910), 1:181, n. 2, and Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 168-169.

These actions, or the rumors of them, brought Bishop Gonçalvo of Coimbra to Rome.[42] There he secured two things. On June 18, 1116 Paschal wrote to Archbishop Bernard, Bishops Alfonso of Túy and Jerome of Salamanca, and "Queen" Teresa that they should determine whether Lamego should be administered by Oporto or by Coimbra.[43] But Bishop Gonçalvo had pursued other interests as well. Another papal letter of the same date to Archbishop Bernard reopened the question of whether Coimbra was a suffragan of Braga or of Mérida.[44] To defend the sorely threatened integrity of his province, Archbishop Maurice was by now himself in Rome.

The complexity of these claims and interests led Pope Paschal to dispatch Cardinal Boso to the peninsula as his legate in late 1116. There, in the latter part of February 1117, the cardinal held a council at Burgos attended by, among others, Queen Urraca, Archbishop Bernard, and Bishops Hugh of Oporto and Gonçalvo of Coimbra. Archbishop Maurice was not present, and the results were distinctly unfavorable to Braga. Coimbra was adjudged a suffragan of Mérida and obtained a favorable boundary rectification with Oporto. Oporto, however, in turn gained territory in the north at the expense of Braga.[45]

Consequent to these events Archbishop Maurice must have despaired of justice as he saw it. Himself entrusted with a diplomatic mission to the German Emperor Henry V, he seems to have gained the imperial confidence. When Pope Paschal II died in Janury 1118, the newly elected Gelasius quickly encountered difficulties with the emperor. In early March Henry V entered Rome but Gelasius had left it. On

[42] David, *Études*, p. 467.

[43] Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 169-170; J-W, 6527.

[44] Published in Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, pp. 302-303, n. 21, from the original in the cathedral archive of Toledo.

[45] Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal in ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1928), p. 20, and Fidel Fita, "Concilio nacional de Burgos (18 febrero 1117)," *BRAH* 48 (1906):387-407.

March 8, 1118 Maurice of Braga was elected pope in Rome and took the name Gregory VIII.[46] Pope Gelasius II wrote to Archbishop Bernard and the other Spanish bishops on March 25, 1118 advising them of the excommunication and deposition of the antipope Maurice and authorizing them to elect a new archbishop for Braga.[47]

These circumstances gave Urraca her only chance to intervene in the selection of an archbishop of Braga, and she seems to have taken full advantage of them. The new prelate of Braga was consecrated in Segovia by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, probably in June 1118, in the queen's presence.[48] The choice fell on Paio Mendes, Archdeacon of Braga and member of the powerful northern Portuguese family of Mendo Gonçalves of Maia, just then supporting the young Alfonso Enríquez against his mother, Teresa, and allied with Urraca.[49] Although local forces would have made his candidacy powerful, it is difficult to imagine that the Leonese queen's consent would not have been decisive.

In any event, he may have confirmed a charter of Urraca on September 12, 1118.[50] He did not, however, appear in any genuine charter of Teresa until late 1122. Earlier that year he had spent some time in refuge in Zamora and had been imprisoned by Teresa on his return.[51]

The matter of Braga was, however, shortly to pale to near insignificance. A major alteration of the ecclesiastical map of

[46] The basic study is David, "L'énigme de Maurice Bourdin," in *Études*, pp. 441-501.

[47] Migne, *PL*, 163:491-492; J-W, 6637.

[48] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:249-251. Fidel Fita, "Concilios de Gerona, Segovia, y Túy en 1117 y 1118," *BRAH* 48 (1906):508, suggests Pentecost, June 2, 1118, as the likely date.

[49] J. Serrão, ed., *DHP* (Lisbon, 1971), vol. 3 s.v. "Paio Mendes."

[50] AHN, Sección de Ordenes Militares, carp. 373, no. 1, and Códices, 1.045 B, pp. 118-120; published in José Luis Martín, *Orígenes de la orden militar de Santiago* (Barcelona, 1974), pp. 170-171. The charter has, however, the most serious diplomatic and dating problems.

[51] Teresa's charter of March 13, 1119 is a forgery; published in Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:63-64.

the peninsula was at hand that would necessitate a century to work out in its full implications. Bishop Gelmírez had gone to Segovia in 1118, according to the "Historia Compostelana," to secure the return of properties in Portugal belonging to his see but held by the prelate of Braga.[52] It is likely that Gelmírez had some idea of delaying the consecration, for he still had hopes of having the metropolitanate translated from Braga to his own see.

Both hopes were to prove illusory, but on February 27, 1120 Pope Calixtus II translated the metropolitanate of Mérida to Santiago de Compostela.[53] Gelmírez had committed every resource to the endeavor, calling into action the friendships of Cluny and the duke of Burgundy. That the bishop of Compostela had been the guardian and was currently the political ally of the pope's nephew, Alfonso Raimúndez, doubtless had its effect. Still, the action of Calixtus II is hard to characterize as other than irresponsible.

The papal action made Compostela an archiepiscopate entirely surrounded by suffragan dioceses of Braga. For suffragans of its own, Calixtus gave Compostela two sees, both sure to be bitterly contested. One was Coimbra, to the south of Braga, already the object of dispute between Archbishops Bernard and Paio. The other was Salamanca, to which Toledo and Braga also had claims.[54] To none of these disputes could Queen Urraca or the Infanta Teresa afford to be indifferent any more than could their respective sons, the cousins Alfonso Raimúndez and Alfonso Enríquez. Under these circumstances, the gift of the papal legateship for the provinces of Braga and Mérida along with the archbishopric pro-

[52] Flórez, *ES*, 20:249-251.

[53] Ibid., pp. 251-294. This portion of the second book of the HC describes in loving and vivid detail the negotiations that led to the attainment of the goal of the past six years.

[54] Ibid., pp. 294-295. Peter Feige, "Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirche," *GAKS* 29 (1978):157, speaks of the province as a "monstrosity." It is hard to differ.

vided Gelmírez with the legal weapon necessary to create his new province and perhaps even enlarge it.[55]

As would be expected, the archbishop set about the exercise of his new responsibilities energetically. Acting as papal legate, he summoned a council for his two provinces at Compostela for January 9, 1121. Bishop Gonçalvo of Coimbra did not attend and was suspended by Gelmírez. Subsequently the bishop of Coimbra was to acknowledge the authority of Compostela, but the link was tenuous and ultimately was not sustained.[56] In any event, Bishop Gonçalvo outlived Urraca and so does not directly concern us here.

In Salamanca, Bishop Jerome died on June 30, 1120 and it was his successor, Bishop-elect Gerald, who was summoned to the council at Compostela in 1121.[57] Gerald seems to have been the candidate of Gelmírez who was accepted and consecrated by Calixtus II during the troubled days of 1120.[58] That Gerald was the choice of Gelmírez instead of the queen's may be adduced from his presence at the Council of Sahagún in August of 1121, whose real purpose was to remove Urraca from the throne.[59] Both his accession and his conduct, then, were unacceptable to the Leonese queen, and in the final mention of him in the documents Urraca bears him off from a provincial council at Compostela in March of 1122.[60]

In 1123 Bishop Muño appears as successor to Gerald in the see of Salamanca. The account of a subsequent dispute between Archbishop Bernard of Toledo and Archbishop Gelmírez informs us that Muño was consecrated by the primate, who was persisting in his claim to authority over the

[55] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:295-296.

[56] Ibid., pp. 308, 336, and 359.

[57] Fidel Fita, "Bernardo de Perigord, arcediano de Toledo y obispo de Zamora," *BRAH* 14 (1889):459, n. 6, and Flórez, *ES*, 20:308.

[58] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:339-341.

[59] See Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 177-181.

[60] Flórez, *ES*, 20:359. The HC makes Alfonso of Aragón guilty of having originally expelled Gerald from Salamanca, but Alfonso Raimúndez is a more likely candidate.

church of Salamanca. In relation to this same dispute the "Historia Compostelana" complains that Archbishop Bernard had also forbidden the archbishop of Braga and the bishop of Coimbra to acknowledge Gelmírez's authority.[61] We may be sure that not all the details of this affair are aired in the documents, but it seems clear that the queen, her son, and the primate, their differences resolved by 1123, secured their own candidate for the see of Salamanca. Although Bishop Muño had, in 1124, to make a formal profession of obedience to Gelmírez, he continued in the see until 1130.

To his provincial council at Compostela in January 1121 Gelmírez had also summoned the bishop-elect of Ávila.[62] The actual existence of a bishopric at Ávila in the eleventh and early twelfth century is disputed. Rivera Recio believes that Bishop Jerome of Salamanca had been assigned the administration of the sees of both Ávila and Zamora by Bernard of Toledo.[63] However that may be, the lively disputes of the period had made everyone a church historian and Gelmírez moved quickly to resurrect that ancient diocese and so to supply himself with yet another suffragan. Bishop Sancho was consecrated at Compostela in March 1121 in the presence of Urraca, Alfonso Raimúndez, and the legate, Cardinal Boso.[64]

Given the desperate position of Urraca during this year, resulting from her unwise seizure of Gelmírez the preceding summer, Sancho may well have been imposed on her by the archbishop of Compostela, for he never subsequently appeared in any genuine document of the queen. It is equally doubtful that he was a candidate acceptable to her son, for Archbishop Bernard of Toledo never accepted Bishop Sancho, complaining that his election had been uncanonical and

[61] Ibid., pp. 403-410. See also Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 38-39.

[62] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:308. The manuscript tradition seems to be confused. "P. electum Avilensem" is summoned but a subsequent reference is to "S. Abilensis episcopus," and it is a Bishop Sancho who appears in the documents of the time.

[63] *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 155.

[64] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:322-323.

his consecration a usurpation. Nevertheless, the bishop seems to have maintained himself at Ávila until his death in 1133.[65]

Although the archbishop of Toledo might have been defeated in determining the bishopric of Ávila, the episcopate in the peninsula could be elaborated in ways advantageous to him as well as to his rival. The episcopal status of Zamora was even more shadowy than that of Ávila. There was no such see in antiquity. Its early medieval status is still open to dispute but there is no doubt that it was treated as a possession of the church of Salamanca in the first decade of the twelfth century.[66] Apparently there was a sufficient tradition, however, to suggest to Archbishop Bernard that he could convincingly erect it into an independent see. This he did in 1120 or 1121.[67]

The new bishop of Zamora, Bernard of Perigord, had been an archdeacon of the church of Toledo and was one of the Frenchmen brought to the peninsula by its archbishop. The timing of the action suggests that Urraca would have had to consent to it. Her role may have been even more active than that. A fairly old tradition makes Bernard of Perigord one of the guardians selected for Urraca's daughter the Infanta Sancha.[68]

The bishop of Astorga later challenged the legitimacy of the bishopric of Zamora, claiming it as part of his territory.[69] A compromise worked out at the Council of Valladolid in

[65] Ibid., pp. 403-409.

[66] Demetrio Mansilla, "Disputas diocesanas entre Toledo, Braga, y Compostela en los siglos XII al XV," *AA* 3 (1955):93.

[67] There is a donation of Bernard of Toledo to "B. Zamorensi episcopo" dated 1121; published in Ángel González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos* XII *y* XIII, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926-30), 3:299-302; and in Fidel Fita, "Variedades; Bernardo de Perigord, arcediano de Toledo y obispo de Zamora," *BRAH* 14 (1889):456-466. Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 308, believes he was named before the death of Bishop Jerome of Salamanca, but his logic is not entirely convincing.

[68] Luisa García-Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 22.

[69] Erdmann, "Papsturkunden," pp. 181-183. Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 195-196, has a useful synopsis of the matter but misdates the council of Valladolid and the death of Archbishop Bernard. See also Mansilla, "Disputas diocesanas," pp. 95-96.

1124 provided for the return of the lands of Zamora to Astorga at the death of its then bishop, but a subsequent appeal to Pope Calixtus II established the bishopric's permanency.

The full effects of Calixtus II's grant of metropolitan status to Compostela should include the reestablishment of an independent bishopric at Segovia in 1119-1120. It is certain that Archbishop Bernard was well aware of the negotiations for the change and attempted to prevent it.[70] In this he probably had the tacit support of Queen Urraca.[71] To compensate his see for a prospective loss of suffragans, he consecrated Peter of Agen, another of the French clerics whom he had recruited and an archdeacon of Toledo, as bishop of Segovia on January 25, 1120. The archbishop had theretofore administered that see himself.[72] Again, Urraca's approval of the action and of the candidate is to be presumed. According to an old tradition, Peter of Agen had also been a guardian of her daughter Doña Sancha.[73]

Toledo secured yet another suffragan in 1121 with the reconstitution of the diocese of Sigüenza in advance of its actual reconquest. This action, however, may have had more to do with the expansion of Aragón on the eastern frontier, than with the continuing competition with Compostela.[74] The

[70] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:273-274.

[71] The HC usually portrays Urraca as favoring their cause although her opposition to a legation is admitted in one instance, though attributed to a misunderstanding. Yet when the bull of Calixtus was issued in February 1120, it cited the intercession of Alfonso Raimúndez and others but not of the queen. Her relations with Gelmírez all through the period 1116-1121 are stormy. Flórez, *ES*, 20:262, 266, 271-272, 277, and 293.

[72] Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, pp. 278-279, and María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Alfonso I el Batallador y Segovia," *Estudios segovianos* 19 (1967):18, n. 27. There is a donation of Urraca, dated only to 1119, in which a Bishop Pedro of Segovia appears. There may be an error of date or his presence may be recorded in connection not with the original issuance of the diploma but with a subsequent confirmation of it by Alfonso VII. AHN, Sección de Osuña, legajo 1.671-3, and Códices, 1.046B, pp. 376-378; published in Martín, *Orígenes de la orden militar*, pp. 171-172.

[73] García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, p. 22.

[74] The identity of the restorer of the diocese of Sigüenza is a matter of

new bishop Bernard of Agen, was again a protégé of Archbishop Bernard. He had come from France at the latter's behest, had been cantor in the cathedral of Toledo, and was a nephew of the equally new bishop of Segovia.[75] Urraca's interest and consent may be assumed here also.

One last change in the episcopate involved Astorga. Bishop Pelayo, who had ruled there since 1099, died sometime before November 22, 1121.[76] By March 6, 1122, Bishop Alo had been elected.[77] Alo came from the royal court, where he probably functioned as an instructor of its youth. He was cited as "gramaticus."[78] As such, he may be considered essentially an appointee of the queen.

The circumstances of his consecration support that assumption. Archbishop Gelmírez, as papal legate for the province of Braga, might have found grounds to claim that privilege, but in that case we should expect it to be mentioned in the "Historia Compostelana." But all that source

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much dispute. José María Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), pp. 74-75 and 110-111, and Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Los primeros años de la diócesis de Sigüenza," *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, 1962), 1:140-142, credit it to Alfonso of Aragón. Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 268, and, more recently, Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 1:157 and n. 34, see it as an initiative of Toledo. The latter is more likely, for the choice of a canon of Toledo by the Aragonese monarch would be totally inexplicable.

[75] Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo*, p. 268.

[76] Flórez, *ES*, 16:197.

[77] Augusto Quintana Prieto, ed., *Tumbo viejo de San Pedro de Montes* (León, 1971), pp. 230-231. Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense* (Astorga, 1907), 2:184-185.

[78] Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 5:235, listed him as the chancellor of Alfonso VI on the strength of a notice derived from Baluze. But the title of chancellor was never employed in any genuine document of Alfonso, and in my research of the latter's documents Alo never appears as an Alfonsine notary or scribe. He does appear, however, in a document of Oviedo as "regis Adefonsi gramaticus." See Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 327-328. He figures also in two documents of Urraca. In her charter of May 22, 1115, an Alo "de Palencia" was a confirmant. See ch. 3, note 53. Her charter of February 9, 1116 was confirmed by a "Dnus Alus gramaticus." See ch. 3, note 62.

tells us is that Gelmírez had shortly before "consecrated" an abbot of the monastery of San Andrés de Epinareda in the diocese of Astorga against the wishes of Alo's predecessor.[79] A consecration by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo as primate would have been viewed as undesirable in Astorga, for Alo was shortly to launch a protest against Toledo's erection of the diocese of Zamora out of lands considered its own. The likelihood is that the consecration was performed by Archbishop Paio Mendes of Braga. The latter was in Zamora in March of 1122, he was the proper metropolitan of Astorga, and was just then in alliance with Urraca.[80] Such a combination of circumstances would have maximized the queen's influence in the original choice of the candidate.

In summary the evidence indicates that in western Europe in the first four decades of the twelfth century there was no precise understanding of what constituted a canonical election of a bishop. In contrast to the provisions for canonical consecration, which must ordinarily have been performed by his metropolitan, the stipulation for election by the "clergy and people" lacked specificity. Although the usual connotation was the clergy and people of the diocese or, more practically, the clergy and people of the episcopal city, no single individual or group could claim the absolute right to participate. This situation was to lead to the designation by the Lateran Council of 1139 of the cathedral chapter as the electoral body. In the meanwhile, such groups of cathedral clergy or even magnates as could secure the support of a council of bishops or the crown might plausibly claim they were engaging in a canonical election.

In addition, the resolution of the Investiture Controversy in France, in England, and finally at Worms in 1122 legitimized the practice of election in the royal presence as a nec-

[79] Flórez, *ES*, 20:321-322.

[80] Serrão, *DHP*, vol. 3 s.v. "Paio Mendes," and Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:135. Bishop Alo also made his obedience to the archbishop of Braga in 1122, which strengthens the probability that Paio consecrated him; see Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 46, n. 1.

essary part of the electoral process. There can be no reasonable doubt that this development was a compromise on the whole favorable to the continuing royal dominance of that process. What an individual monarch might make of that opportunity, or what the attendant circumstances might permit, was another matter.

The more general development was reflected in Spain and, more particularly, in León-Castilla. Although the documentation is sparse, what there is displays a clear consciousness of canonical election as a norm and a necessity. The content of that norm is the ordinary prescription of election by clergy and people. At the same time, the crown could appeal to the papacy, and the papacy would recognize the complaint, against an episcopal election made without its knowledge. It is within this context that Urraca's opportunities and achievements must be assessed.

At one extreme, she was able to bring about the deposition of a bishop and the election of her own chaplain as his successor, as at Lugo in 1113. The deposition of 1113 was carried out with a conscious attention to ecclesiastical propriety and prescriptions. The source does not say whether the same scrupulous regard attended the deposition of 1112. The consecrations of the elect were properly performed, but it seems undeniable that both actions were largely motivated by political considerations.

At the other extreme, the queen could not prevent disruption of the established ecclesiastical organization of her realm by the elevation of Compostela to an archbishopric in 1120. The combination of the enormous popular devotion to Santiago and the genius of its bishop, guardian of her son and heir whose uncle happened to be the pope, proved irresistible.

Moreover, like every monarch, Urraca inherited the prelacy of her predecessor, which for practical purposes was largely irremovable. In the sees of Compostela, Orense, Oviedo, Palencia, and Túy, bishops presided as political powers whom she could only threaten, cajole, bribe, or placate to achieve

her ends. Her own primate lived long enough effectively to eliminate any chance for her to name an incumbent to that most important see. As with the primacy itself, other opportunities, at Salamanca in 1123 and Osma in 1125, came so late and were so geographically situated that they fell to her son instead.

It seems clear, however, that ordinarily the cooperation of Urraca and her primate controlled the selection of the episcopate of León-Castilla. At Burgos they twice prevailed over the bitter opposition of Alfonso of Aragón. At Braga in 1118 they were able to secure a friendly archbishop against the Infanta Teresa. Together they could limit the effects of Gelmírez's coup of 1120 by erecting a new diocese at Zamora under a friendly authority. The security of the trans-Duero region in the east was enhanced by the erection of the sees of Segovia and Sigüenza in the 1120s with Bernard's protégés and Urraca's advisers in each. On balance, Urraca's control over the bishops seems to have been firm and her policy successful.

NINE

ROYAL GOVERNMENT: FUNCTIONS AND RESOURCES

BETWEEN her accession in the summer of 1109 and her death in the spring of 1126 Urraca governed and administered the realm of León-Castilla on the whole successfully, as we have seen. But the same paucity of materials that often makes difficult the determination of the political history of the reign also hinders clear discernment of the ordinary operation of its administration. These materials are basically the same hundred-odd charters of the queen, the three contemporary chronicles with their varying purposes, and a variety of private documents. Barring some major discovery of a currently unknown cache of royal documents, only the publication of the mass of private documents in individual archives and their correlation and comparison can be expected to add significantly to these resources.

This process, though under way in some centers of local history such as León and Toledo, promises to be so extended that it is worth undertaking here the first survey of Urraca's royal administration. At the same time, it should be understood that the instrumentalities and processes of administration to be treated here evade specific identification and analysis because of the character of the realm itself. In a society based largely on agriculture with a limited exchange of goods and services beyond the immediate locale of their production, small need arises for a machinery that extends beyond personal and occasional decisions, which refer to unwritten custom and precedent for legitimacy. The sense of office is weak and only loosely formalized, even at the highest levels, below the crown itself. The function of govern-

ment was limited largely to conflict resolution rather than to the active direction of society. The waging of war, control of the church, and, perhaps, the administration of justice were the only activities that systematically engaged the crown on a so-called national level. Its usual preoccupation was rather with the affairs of the royal house and dynasty, which sometimes merged with the former activities and were not strictly distinguished from them.

With these limitations in mind, we begin with a consideration of the institutions of the central government. What has been said in Chapter Seven furnishes a point of departure. The queen herself was, of course, the font and origin of all legitimate secular authority, but she functioned in, and in a sense with, a curia of about thirty persons who constituted her companions, advisers, and who confirmed her diplomas. Five or six of these, her notaries and the majordomo, might fairly be described as officials, another five or so were bishops, and the remainder were nobles and barons of the kingdom. Together with the queen and such members of the dynasty as were present, this group may fairly be called the ordinary governing body of the realm.[1]

On the evidence of the diplomas, no member of the curia except the queen herself was a member by right whose presence was essential to its proper function. Although it cannot be explicitly demonstrated, it seems likely that this body could also function in the absence of Urraca herself. During the years after 1116 the queen was almost annually in Galicia for a period of one or two months, ordinarily accompanied only by a notary or two of those who usually figure in her charters. It is difficult to imagine that, during her absence from the central portion of the kingdom, the usual members of the curia simply returned to their homes as private individuals with no provision made for the continuing administration of government.

[1] Standard authorities such as Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de las instituciones españolas* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 452-453, include the abbots of the realm, but the actual documents seldom disclose their presence.

Although it cannot be established in the documents, it is almost irresistible to assume that the curia continued to function in some fashion on such occasions under a vicar or regent of some sort. This was not, of course, a formalized office, but I suspect that it was filled by the primate of the realm, the archbishop of Toledo. He would have been automatically the leader of the bishops present, he had wide experience of Urraca's government, as indicated by his confirmation of thirty-two of the queen's charters, and he had the prestige of long association with the government of her father, Alfonso VI. All these qualifications would have fitted him to become the temporary head of such a collegial body.

In the simultaneous absence of the queen and the primate it is possible to imagine that such a role was filled by the bishop of the royal city of León or even by the bishop of Palencia, both of whom appear in an equal number of Urraca's diplomas. A lay president of the curia seems to be ruled out by the circumstances. The queen's only legitimate son, Alfonso Raimúndez, was first too young and then too dangerous a rival for such a post. Count Pedro González of Lara, her consort and most frequent member of the court, confirming fifty-two charters of the queen, was too objectionable to most of its other members but his own subordination to another lay noble would have been troublesome also.

Of the range and function of the curia, we can be absolutely certain only that it confirmed royal charters. Only when it swelled into a larger body, a "general" curia or council, is there a basis for wider generalization about its activities. There is evidence that it did so metamorphoze with reasonable regularity, and contemporaries realized and expressed their sense of the resultant institution as somehow different in kind and competence from the ordinary curia.[2]

The author of the "Historia Compostelana" described the

[2] Ibid., pp. 454-456. Such assemblies were by no means limited to León-Castilla. Antonio Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments*, trans. S. J. Woolf (London, 1968), pp. 23-32, surveys the general European development.

meeting of the prelates and barons held at Palencia in October 1113 as "generaliter concilium."[3] However, he also characterized the same meeting as simply a council, as a "general collegio," a "generalem synodum," and as a "synodale collegium."[4] On the other hand, he styled the meeting held by Alfonso VII at Zamora just after Urraca's death simply a curia.[5] This ambiguity in terminology assuredly reflects the only tentative institutionalization of the age. For our purposes, I propose to call a more widely convoked meeting such as this a general curia.

From the literary records, which are only occasionally interested in the royal government, we can identify at most only eleven such assemblages. Recourse to the documents of the period may isolate more of them. If, for example, the presence of an unusual number of bishops at court is a hallmark of such meetings, then the confirmation of a royal charter by more than five bishops could signal such a reunion. If we accept five as the usual complement of bishops in the curia, some sixteen other, similar meetings can be identified: eight times Urraca's charters are confirmed by as many as six bishops and another eight times by seven to eleven bishops.[6] On such grounds, considering the paucity of surviving documents and the known fact that not every bishop present at court necessarily confirmed each charter, it does not seem adventurous to conclude that a general curia ordinarily met twice a year, at least after the very troubled years from 1109 to 1112.

[3] Enrique Flórez, ed., *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:163.

[4] Ibid., pp. 172-173 and 182-183.

[5] Ibid., pp. 434-439.

[6] It should be remembered that prior to 1120 there were but thirteen bishops in the territories ruled by Urraca. Of these, Burgos was sometimes vacant and more often than not in the hands of Aragón. Túy lay on a most troubled frontier. For practical purposes, six would have constituted a numerical majority of her episcopate, at least prior to 1120. I do not include in any of these the so-called Council of Oviedo of 1115, which is a patent fabrication. See Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971), pp. 39-41.

What differentiates these bodies from an ordinary curia seems largely to have been the sense of the importance of the occasion and the wider range, but not kind, of membership. The probabilities are strong that the range of matters with which they dealt reflects fairly well the competence of the smaller, more obscure body also. Before investigating their operation, however, one general problem remains to be considered.

The literary sources, usually ecclesiastical in origin, that allow us to investigate their activities often present these gatherings as purely ecclesiastical councils. They are sometimes presided over by the Spanish primate, either as primate or as papal legate, and even by a papal legate sent from Rome. In such cases the question arises whether a royal or an ecclesiastical institution is being described. Perhaps the best response is to say that it is each, both, and neither. Our definitions and distinctions are not necessarily those of the twelfth century in León-Castilla, and few persons in that age would have excluded the dignities of king and barons from the church or the dignities of bishops and abbots from the realm. What we might regard as imprecision, then, would allow the same assembly to be described variously, depending essentially on the interest or purpose of the author. The very gradual movement toward a distinction of royal and ecclesiastical institutions may be perceived in later years, but it was never completely realized as long as monarchy remained the dominant western institution.[7]

During the reign of Urraca the general curia dealt with the most central affairs of the dynasty and of the kingdom. On the testimony of the queen as we have it, the general curia of León in August of 1109 successfully supported the arrangement of her dead father for the marriage to Alfonso of

[7] The question is discussed by Odilo Engels, "Papsttum, Reconquista, und spanisches Landeskonzil im Hochmittelalter," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969):266-275, who demonstrates some tentative beginnings in such a distinction between the reigns of Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII. More briefly, see Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments*, p. 31.

Aragón against the preferences of Urraca herself.[8] Not quite a year later another meeting at Sahagún, probably in July, discussed the condemnation of their marriage by Paschal II and effected their first separation.[9] Such a body seems also to have debated Alfonso of Aragón's offer of reconciliation at Burgos in July or August of 1113.[10] Finally, if I am correct in my earlier argument, what turned out to be a "rump" general curia at Sahagún in August of 1121 aspired to the deposition of Urraca herself and her replacement by her son.[11]

At a more modest level, these bodies participated in what may most properly be called the diplomatic sphere. Thus, the general curia at Sahagún in August of 1116 dealt with a general reconciliation of Urraca and her son.[12] A similar meeting at Burgos in February 1117 most likely worked out the terms of an understanding between Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón that had equal importance for royal policy.[13]

It seems unrealistic as well to deny something of a special legislative function to the general curia. The one held at Palencia in October of 1113 appears clearly to have addressed itself to a remedy for the widespread troubles in the realm resulting, in part, from the running dispute between Urraca and El Batallador. And if the decrees subsequently issued by Bishop Gelmírez for his own honor reflect the decisions of Palencia, they may certainly be styled civil legislation.[14] The enactments at León in October 1114 are more narrowly ecclesiastical in nature but some of them dealt with civil matters, as we would be inclined to describe them.[15]

The distinction between political decisions and judicial ones

[8] Flórez, *ES*, 20:115 and 140. The HC is sometimes suspect, but this version is independently reported in Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," *BRAH* 76 (1920):121-122.

[9] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:246.

[10] Ibid., p. 164.

[11] See ch. 5, note 16 and Flórez, HC, *ES* 20:323.

[12] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:225.

[13] See ch. 4.

[14] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:163 and 176-181.

[15] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

is a thin one at best, and the problem of determination is aggravated when the same body is engaged in both types of activity and when the information is tantalizingly laconic. Nevertheless it seems to me that the sources allow the attribution of a judicial function to the general curia during Urraca's reign, and certainly that has been the judgment of other historians dealing with similar bodies elsewhere in the medieval west.

"Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún" as we have it is, unfortunately, only a translation, but the language clearly assigns a judicial function to the meeting at Sahagún in the summer of 1112. Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón were being measured in terms of their respective adherence to a previous agreement, and the whole tenor of the relation is that of a judicial proceeding or inquest.[16] The account of the "Historia Compostelana" is not as explicit but supports the same interpretation in the language of the time.[17] The curia at León in October 1114 similarly decided the drawn-out dispute between the abbot of Sahagún and the burghers of that village.[18] The same dispute, erupting subsequently, was argued and decided at the curia in Burgos in February of 1117.[19]

Finally, that such assemblages decided ecclesiastical matters is patent. The curia at Palencia in October 1113 arranged

[16] ". . . E alli ayuntados e de un acuerdo el rrei e la rreina, de cada parte fueron dados arbitrios los quales savia e amigablemente juzgarsen entre si e demostrasen manifestamente al rrei e a la rreina en que manera el uno con el otro bibiese en buena paz e concordia. . . . Por ninguna manera de fabla nin de eloquençia podieron ynclinar o atraer el coraçon del rrei aquesto para que quiesese guardar los estatutos e obedesçer a los jueces"; Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):349.

[17] "Igitur Burgenses, Najarei, Carrionenses, Legionenses atque alli Hispaniae Proceres apud S. Facundam ad supradictum Aragonensem conveniunt et ei quod prius diffinitum pactum transgrederetur et Reginam omnino injuriaret ostendunt. Ille autem multiplices rationes praetendens, et de crastino in crastinum argumentosis verbis rem differens, per suae fraudis effectum foedera rupisse ab omnibus comprobatum est. . . ."; Flórez, *ES*, 20:143.

[18] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):407.

[19] Ibid., 77 (1921):159-161.

the election of a new bishop, the queen's chaplain, to the see of Lugo and moved the see of Mondoñedo to Vallabriense. That at León in 1114 legislated extensively for the church. That at Segovia in June 1118 accepted the candidate for the see of Braga.

What applies to the procedures of such general curias may be applied, by extension, to the workings of the ordinary curia. Although it is certain that they needed her approval to meet, the presence of the queen does not seem absolutely essential. She apparently was not at Burgos in 1117. At this same curia the primate of Toledo and the papal legate, Cardinal Boso, are spoken of as presiding.[20] In Valladolid in 1124 apparently the legate, Cardinal Deusdedit, presided.[21]

In its actual workings, the curia cannot be said to have had regular officers or specialized permanent structures distinct from the offices of the crown itself. Nevertheless, it is clear that it did not function always and simply as a committee of the whole. According to "Las crónicas anónimas," at Sahagún in 1112 the parties to the dispute were given, or allowed to name, persons responsible for arguing their cases.[22] Again at Sahagún in 1116, a delegation was chosen whose function seems to have been to work out the details of the accord between Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez and to conclude the pact.[23] At Burgos in 1117 it is clear that Count Bertran was the spokesman for the burghers of Sahagún and was one of the three persons named to implement the decision of that curia.[24] Without exaggeration, then, it seems possible to say that, although it had no permanent, formal structure, the curia did employ formal spokesmen for the

[20] Ibid.

[21] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:415-417, and Carl Erdmann, ed., "Papsturkunden in Portugal," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zur Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s. vol. 20 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 181-183.

[22] See note 16.

[23] "Mittitur Consul Castellae P. Gundisalves cum episcopo B. Jacobi et cum ceteris legatis ad Regum puerum, qui determinati pacti sint testes et tanti foederis fidejussores"; Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:225.

[24] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 77 (1920):161.

argument of complicated judicial matters and practiced the delegation of its authority to oversee the execution of its decisions. In none of these operations, however, should the actions of the curia be dissociated from those of the crown.

The crown and the curia were supported in their governing of the realm by no executive or administrative institutions comparable to the modern department of government. During the reign of Urraca her chancery comes the closest to approximating such a body, but it would probably be premature to characterize even the chancery in that fashion. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, it was composed of a group of four to five persons whose association with the queen was regular and of comparatively long duration, and of a variety of others whose appearance was occasional and whose connection with the court was otherwise tenuous or nonexistent. Although the title "chancellor" was sporadically employed the usual one was "notary," and there is no conclusive evidence of that hierarchy of officials and subordinates that characterizes the modern department. Nor does the diplomatic form of the charters that they prepared attain to a standardization, although as individuals a fair degree of regularity is noticeable. One speaks, then, of a chancery in the sense of a number of persons at court who have a specialized duty, of preparing the written instruments of government, that is clearly defined and recognized by title. At this stage, however, they seem to exhibit no formal organization in relation to one another comparable to what is evident in the chancery of her son and successor, Alfonso VII.

Other persons at court held official titles, but it is difficult to perceive them as true officials or officers. The most prominent among these is the majordomo. On the analogy with this office elsewhere in the Latin West and with the later development in León-Castilla itself, this was the office responsible for the overall management of the royal fisc. But at the court of Urraca the office was held by great nobles of the realm, as we have seen in Chapter Seven. It seems that this office was already well on the way to becoming an hon-

orific title, a development that led eventually to the position's being divided into a "major" and a "minor" majordomo.[25] Although these officers probably maintained some general control over the activities of those who managed the fisc lands, the documents do not give evidence of that fact, nor is it likely that such control amounted to more than perfunctory approval of measures and decisions devised elsewhere.

Again there is no evidence of a departmental organization, but given that the widely scattered fisc lands were the major economic resource of the crown, someone at court must have paid some attention to the organization and collection of its proceeds even if their management was somewhat decentralized. Probably such a function was performed by one or more of the royal clerks who appear occasionally in Urraca's charters, but the sources do not explicitly indicate such activity, and it has not reached such a degree of formality as to have crystallized in a title or office.

As to the fisc lands themselves, no register has survived that would make a general description of them possible. To estimate their extent we must rely once again on the charters, which ordinarily inform us of their existence only at the moment when they are being alienated. Still, these documents tell something of their extent and location during Urraca's reign. They indicate, at least, that the fisc lands were dispersed throughout the entire realm. If only the extant charters are considered and the notices of lost documents disregarded, of the places that can be fairly confidently located geographically the largest number of grants, some twenty-six, are made from the fisc in the province of León. To these might be added for practical purposes another four grants made from the fisc of the rough and mountainous Astorga-Bierzo region.

[25] García de Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, p. 592. Only in the diploma of August 6, 1120 does Jimeno López confirm as "palacio ipsius regine maiordomus maximus" and that is not an original; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 5.

The next largest numbers of grants are twenty from the province of Castilla, twenty from Galicia, and sixteen from the Campo Gótico, stretching westward from around Palencia. These areas were the political centers of the realm. Its birthplace, the province of Asturias, furnished some nine grants and its future, the new kingdom of Toledo, eight. To the east, in the contested border province of Rioja, four grants were made of fisc lands and to the west in Zamora, often similarly troubled, five grants.

To proceed beyond this rough survey is impractical. The number of documents is too small to permit more detailed analysis. For now it is possible only to point out that what information we have supports what we might have guessed. If the proportion of lands granted was in proportion to the actual size of the fisc, then roughly eighty percent of the productive fisc land lay in the political centers of León, Castilla, the Campo Gótico, and Galicia.

I have qualified these fisc lands as "productive" because certainly the largest fisc holdings must have lain in the trans-Duero and Toledan regions. Under the law of the period the lands reconquered from the Muslim passed to the crown, and vast tracts in these two regions must have been legally part of the fisc because of their relatively recent reconquest. That fact would not have been reflected in the grants because both the crown and the potential grantees were hard pressed to find the resources with which to repeople and defend them, which processes alone would have made them productive and desirable.

Similarly, the raw figures probably give a depressed figure for the contested areas of Rioja, Castilla, and Zamora. On the other hand, the eight percent reflected for Asturias more likely illustrates the extent to which the growth of ecclesiastical and noble estates had encroached on crown holdings in that oldest of provinces.

Only for the province of Galicia, given the state of knowledge of the private documents of the period, is there another major resource for estimating their characteristics. The "His-

toria Compostelana" is, among other things, a register of land acquisitions by the church of Santiago. The charters alone indicate that the lands of the fisc appear to be scattered widely and fairly evenly over the province. If we add to these known possessions the ones that are recorded in the "Historia Compostelana" as royal possessions, another grouping of fisc lands becomes apparent between the rivers Tambre and Ulla and just to the south of Compostela. Had a comparable register survived for the other three bishoprics of Galicia, or indeed for those of the entire kingdom, it is to be expected that they would reveal comparable richness in terms of their area of interest and acquisition.

The evidence is clear that this fisc land was formally subdivided and allocated to the support of different areas of the royal court and government. Thus, Urraca speaks, in her original charter of April 28, 1112, of the alienation of lands "sive hereditates de regalengo, sive de infantatico, sive de comitatu."[26] It is apparent, then, that the fisc was subdivided to serve the needs of the monarch, of the other living members of the royal house, and of the chief local agents of the government, the counts. At the same time it is obvious that the monarch held paramount control of all and was able to alienate any portion of it, although it would have been more difficult to do so when the *infantes* were of age.

When they had reached their majority, as we have seen, Alfonso Raimúndez was especially associated with the control of the fisc around Sahagún and his sister, Sancha, with that about the castle of Grajal. Doubtless the lands of the *infantaticum* were managed by the majordomos of these children and so reduced or delayed the need for a special department to do so at Urraca's court. The fourteen genuine charters of Alfonso Raimúndez and the four of Doña Sancha issued during their mother's lifetime also demonstrate that their prerogatives to the management of their lands included the right to alienate without formal consent by the ruler.

[26] AC Túy, 4/1.

So long as lands remained in the fisc they supported the government by means of the ordinary proprietary dues and rents. Alienated, they rewarded or purchased the loyalty of magnates, bishops, abbots, and, occasionally, humble folk. A comparison of the known charters of alienations from the fisc for the last seventeen years of the reign of Alfonso VI (1092-1109), the reign of Urraca (1109-1126), and the first seventeen years of the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1143) provides a rough idea of the rate at which such grants were growing. For Alfonso VI there are 49, for Urraca 102, and for Alfonso VI 208. This progression, however, does not necessarily imply the increasing depletion of the fisc. More likely the figures reflect the geographic growth of the realm itself, the ability of the crown to direct its repopulation, and the ever-increasing general awareness of everyone concerned of the necessity of protecting the legal basis of their claims to land as the power of the crown to monitor their claims steadily increased. The proliferation of cathedral and monastic *tumbos* and *becerros* in the first half of the twelfth century as a way to preserve individual charters is a reflection of that growing awareness. If these three circumstances are accepted as operative, the figures do not support the idea that a great raid on the lands of the fisc occurred, much less proceeded from any weakness in her government.

When necessary, however, the fisc might produce a one-time cash revenue for the crown through the sale of some designated portion. From Urraca's charters and the "Historia Compostelana" we can identify nineteen separate instances of this practice. That is, something like a fifth of all alienations were sales. With one exception these transactions occurred fairly regularly throughout the reign and should be presumed an ordinary practice rather than an emergency measure. The exception is four charters of sales in the spring of 1112, connected certainly with the great effort to recover from the twin disasters of Candespina and Viadangos and to hold the realm of León against Alfonso of Aragón.

In one of these, dated May 31, 1112, Urraca granted cer-

tain possessions and exemptions to the monks of Samos in return for thirty-six marks of silver and "duos kavallos optimos."[27] These must have been warhorses for the coming campaign. A little earlier, on May 18, Urraca had made a donation to the church of Lugo for one hundred marks of silver "de sacratis ornamentis altaris eiusdem Virginis ut reddam donativa militibus meis."[28] Even before, on March 29, 1112, a donation to the archdeacon of the church of Oviedo, Pedro Annayez, was made at the price of "una copa argentea et duerata centum quinquaginta solidos ponderata purissimo argento."[29] All these, however, pale into near insignificance with the donation made to the church of Oviedo itself on March 27, 1112, which brought some 9,280 "auri purissimi metkalia," 10,400 "solidos de purissimo argento magno pondere maurisco," and "trecéntos solidos plata laborata." This sale alone would have largely defrayed the costs of a summer's campaign if we may credit it.[30]

Still another function of the fisc lands was to support the maintenance and provisioning of the royal palaces and castles even when the crown and court were not in residence. It may be that this was part of the task of lands assigned specifically to the *comitatum* within which they lay, but we cannot be sure. As to palaces, or royal residences, the notices we have suggest their concentration largely in the heart of

[27] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 5.

[28] AC Lugo, estante 21, legajo 2, no. 10; and AHN, Sección de Códices, 1.043B, fol. 17; published in García Conde y Vázquez Saco, "Diploma de la reina Doña Urraca," *BCM Lugo* 1 (1943):326-330; and in Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "Notas para el estudio del 'petitum,' " *Vicjos y nuevos estudios sobre la instituciones medievales españolas*, 2d. ed. (Madrid, 1976), 2:935, n. 10, who dates it to December 18, 1112 from the copy in the AHN.

[29] Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 348-349.

[30] Ibid., pp. 345-347, but Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos*, pp. 354-361, believes that this donation has been fabricated from a genuine but more restricted one of the same date so that it is possible that only 300 solidos were involved Sánchez-Albornoz, "Notas," p. 935, accepts the entire amount.

the Leonese fisc lands. There was one at Ceia ten kilometers north of Sahagún[31] and assuredly another adjoining the castle of Grajal, five kilometers to the south of Sahagún, where Count Raymond had died in 1107. In her frequent residence at Sahagún itself Urraca probably stayed in the former castle of her mother, Queen Constance, which Alfonso VI had presented to that monastery after his wife's death. Her expenses may well have been borne by the monastery as part of their duty of hospitality, which would have given them good reason to rue such a gift.

Close by, in the city of León itself, there would have been royal apartments in the famous "towers," or royal citadel. In fact, many major castles of the crown probably had royal residences adjoining them. But we may be sure that there was a royal palace in Burgos to replace the old one of his parents given by Alfonso VI to the bishop in 1081.[32] One further palace, in Nájera, may also be identified, although here, as in Burgos, the circumstances of the reign seldom permitted Urraca to avail herself of it.[33]

Royal castles are somewhat easier to identify because of their relatively greater prominence in the narratives of the time. Private castles, though, were quite widespread and often it is difficult to be positive whether a rebellious noble was defending a castle of his own or whether he was in fact capitalizing on his position as royal *castellan*. Whose, for example, was the castle of Mancilla on the Río Esla just twenty miles southeast of León in which Count Pedro González of Lara was held prisoner briefly in the spring of 1119? The "Historia Compostelana" does not say.[34]

[31] Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:54-55 app.

[32] Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:61-62.

[33] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 298-299.

[34] Flórez, *ES*, 20:270.

Royal castles may be identified, however, in some of the major cities of the realm. There were the towers of León, the old castle in Astorga, and the citadel at Burgos, although the garrisoning and upkeep of the last would have fallen not to the fisc but to Alfonso of Aragón because he usually controlled it. We may safely assume that the *Alcazar* in Toledo was both royal fortress and residence. Other captured Muslim fortresses in the kingdom of Toledo, such as those at Oreja and Medinaceli, may have been ceded to those nobles like Alvar Fáñez who were on the spot and prepared to defend them. We simply do not know.

On the other hand, there seems not to have been a royal fortress in Compostela, and perhaps that condition was usual where the city's bishop held the "honor" of the city and its territory as at Compostela and Lugo. Although a great deal of documentary and archaeological work remains to be done, the same condition seems to have obtained in other episcopal cities peripheral to the heart of the realm: at Zamora, Túy, and Orense in the west, at Oviedo in the north, and at Osma and perhaps even Palencia in the east. There is no hard evidence for royal castellans in any of these places in Urraca's day. Presumably both their defense and the maintenance of the royal authority and prerogative within them devolved upon the bishop as a royal officer.

In the countryside circumstances were quite different. In the kingdom of León itself, a concentration of royal castles is apparent. Grajal, southeast of Sahagún, was matched with the castle at Ceia, to the north of the latter on the Río Cea.[35] Another twenty kilometers to the north on the same river there was yet another at Almanza.[36] Forty kilometers southwest of Sahagún and thirty-five kilometers south of the city of León was the royal castle at Coyanza, today Valencia de

[35] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):248, 349-350, 396, 410, and 417.

[36] Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías de la provincia de León* (León, 1976), p. 55.

Don Juan.[37] Almost equidistant between Coyanza and Sahagún there was probably another royal castle at Castrotierra de la Valduerna and yet another fifteen kilometers southwest of Sahagún, on the Cea at Melgar de Arriba.[38] The inference is inevitable that these castles defended the frontier with Castilla when necessary and administered the surrounding fisc lands when it was not.

Although most of the fortresses of Castilla, from Saldaña to Carrión to Castrojeriz, were in the hands of Alfonso of Aragón for the greater part of Urraca's reign, that warrior was kept from permanent occupation of the Campo Gótico to the south. Something approximating a line of castles controlled by Urraca can be traced stretching from west to southeast above Palencia, beginning at Monzón de Campos eleven kilometers north of that city.[39] Ten kilometers southeast of Palencia on the Río Arlanzón was the castle at Magaz.[40] Fifty kilometers southeast of Magaz lay the great fortress of Peñafiel on the Duero. Another fifty-five kilometers upstream, the castle at Peñaranda de Duero may have been a royal possession. Just twenty kilometers north of Peñaranda was Huerta del Rey, a castle given to the monks of Silos in 1137 by Alfonso VII.[41] Thirty-five kilometers east of Peñaranda lay the outpost of Urraca's realm at Osma.

To the north and west of the city of León was the royal castle of Luna, high up on the Río Orbigo as it descends from the Cordillera Cantabrica, where Alfonso VI had kept his brother, García, imprisoned until he died. We hear also

[37] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 9. This document of Sahagún says that it was held by Fernando Téllez, but I believe he did so as castellan for Urraca, whose documents he frequently confirms.

[38] AHN, Clero, carp. 961, no. 7; published in Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), pp. 130-131.

[39] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):122 and 248.

[40] Pedro Fernando del Pulgar, *Historia secular y eclesiástica de la ciudad de Palencia* (Madrid, 1680), 1:188-189.

[41] AHN, Clero, carp. 375, no. 4; published in Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 70-72.

of royal castles in Bierzo at Ulver and Cabreya,[42] and at Santa María de Autares near Villafranca del Bierzo.[43]

For western and central Galicia the "Historia Compostelana" offers about the only overall view currently available. Of the castles mentioned, six seem to have been in royal hands. Of these, three lay along the valley of the Miño between Túy and Orense: the castle of Suberoso near Puenteáreas,[44] castle Minei near Castrelo del Miño,[45] and castle Orzilione fifteen kilometers northwest of Orense.[46] Farther north, castle Luparie sat near the Ria de Arosa quite near the modern Villagarcía de Arosa.[47] Castle Cira overlooked the Río Ulla, which flows into the Ria de Arosa well upstream, about twenty kilometers southeast of Compostela.[48] Finally, castle San Georgii was located about ten kilometers north of the Río Tambre and just south of the monastery of Santa Comba.[49] The position of all these castles suggests that they were originally constructed to protect the river valleys and their fisc lands from incursions from the Atlantic by Viking or Muslim pirates.

Whether or not the pattern of Galicia was replicated elsewhere, the cumulative evidence suggests that royal castles generally served the twin needs of defending and administer-

[42] Augusto Quintana Prieto, ed., *Tumbo viejo de San Pedro de Montes* (León, 1971), pp. 230-231.

[43] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:170, 331, and 334. Additional royal castles are identifiable at Villavicencio, 75 kilometers southeast of León on the Rio Valderaduey—see Alfonso García-Gallo, "El fuero de León," *AHDE* 39 (1969):34—and in Asturias at Salas de Nonaya; see Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El monasterio de Cornellana* (Oviedo, 1949), pp. 151-152.

[44] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:216.

[45] Ibid., p. 99.

[46] Ibid., pp. 123-329.

[47] Ibid., pp. 109, 127, 131, 215, 382, and 389. See also Urraca's charter of December 1, 1118; AHN, Códices, 258B, fols. 14 and 34v-35r: "in terra saliensi in comitatum castelli luparie."

[48] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:329, 347, 435-436, and 499.

[49] Ibid., p. 200. A seventh royal castle of "leyro" (Oleiros?) in the northern territory of Nendos had been granted to Count Pedro Froilaz in May 1112; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app.

ing the fisc. It is also clear that they are numerous enough to constitute a major burden on those lands for their provisioning and garrisoning.

In addition to her proprietary income from the fisc Urraca enjoyed an income of indeterminate amount from a variety of public imposts. Given that there is no sign of a treasurer or other specialized revenue officer at her court, such income may have been minor in comparison with that of the fisc. These imposts come to light largely in charters of exemption from them, which apparently were worth seeking. Still, one wonders if these are exemptions from a continuing threat of collection or from an actual collection.

In all likelihood the easiest levy to collect was the *fossataria*, from which the men of León were exempted in 1110.[50] This was the payment due in lieu of, or for failure to perform, military service. Occasional by nature, it would have created no permanent machinery of collection, and its obvious relationship to periods of special financial need by the crown would have tended to make it the most useful sort of income.

In 1112 the subjects of the Galician monastery of Samos were exempted from both the fossataria and the *fiscalia*.[51] The latter suggests some sort of general regular tax, but this is the only time it appears in documents of the period and the notice is laconic. There may be a hint about its nature in a document of 1110, when some villages belonging to the Castilian monastery of San Millán de Cogolla were exempted from the *forum* and *facendera* they owed to the royal palace in Nájera.[52] The first was a tax or a rental due from those who worked land that had originally been a public impost, but in the period the term is applied also to the rent due any proprietor. The second is also ambiguous in the usage of the

[50] AC León, Tumbo, fol. 103v; published in Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 35:414-415, and Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 94-95.

[51] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 5.

[52] Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán*, pp. 298-299.

period. It refers to services in labor due on roads or bridges but also to labor services on private lands. The usage of the terms here, however, suggests that a public charge could be collected even from private lands to support local components of the fisc.[53] Perhaps these are elements of the fiscalia, but unfortunately the notice is again a unique one.

All the evidence suggests that, after the fossataria, the most important source of royal revenue was from the *portaticum*. This tax on goods or travelers journeying over long distances was applied, above all, to that great artery of commerce and pilgrims, the Camino de Santiago. There was a collection station at Logroño, where the pilgrim road first entered the realm.[54] There were others where the road passed through Burgos and Castrojeriz in Castilla.[55] Those who continued on the road would have encountered yet two more tax stations at León and Astorga.[56] At least one more lay along the road at Villafranca in the Bierzo.[57]

As the old Roman road from Sevilla to Zaragoza came increasingly into the firm control of Urraca there are indications that the portaticum was organized also along that stretch within the realm of Toledo. In 1123 a tenth of that tax was granted to the archbishop of Toledo.[58] In 1124 the

[53] García de Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, pp. 251-252. There was perhaps a *castellaria*, or public duty of repair of castle and city walls, but this is not mentioned here. See Antonio Palomeque Torres, "Contribución al estudio del ejército en los estados de la reconquista," *AHDE* 15 (1944):228-229.

[54] AHN, Códices, 105B, fols. 117r-118v; published in Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, vol. 2, *Documentos, 923-1168* (Logroño, 1976), pp. 109-110.

[55] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral* (Madrid, 1906), p. 24. They appear in the fueros of Palenzuela granted by Alfonso VI and confirmed by Urraca. I presume that these stations existed in the time of the latter although the revenue from them would have been lost to Alfonso of Aragón.

[56] AC León, no. 9.277.

[57] Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 2:303.

[58] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 11.

bishop of Sigüenza was similarly granted tenths of the tax at Atienza and Medinaceli.[59] There may also have been some such system on the Roman road leading north from Mérida. In 1124 the bishop of Zamora was granted a tenth of the portaticum there.[60]

The royal right of market still possessed some vigor. The cathedral of Burgos was given a tenth "de cunctio redditibus mercati" in 1120,[61] and the cathedral of Sigüenza a tenth "de totis alquavalas" in 1124.[62] Such revenues, as well as those from fines imposed by royal justice, were more likely to be utilized locally by the agents of the crown, for a systematized, centralized exploitation of them would surely have necessitated a fiscal officer visible at court. In all likelihood these revenues as well as those from the portaticum passed automatically to local agents of the crown, who had purchased their office precisely that they might enjoy them.

One final important source of revenue requiring mention is the coining of money. From the reign of Urraca a variety of coins survive.[63] All are small silver coins, as are those of

[59] Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (Madrid, 1910), 1:347-348.

[60] AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fols. 20r-21r. Although less visible in the documents, toll stations existed also on much humbler arteries. A document of Corias, dated to 1131, mentions a dispute arising over such a station whose existence went back to the time of Alfonso VI; Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El libro registro de Corias*, 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1950), 1:57.

[61] Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:147-148.

[62] See note 59.

[63] Descriptions and reproductions of some of them may be seen in Aloïss Heiss, *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los Árabes*, 3 vols. (1865-69; reprint, Saragossa, 1962), 1:5-6 and plate 1. This work was first published in 1865 and a modern revision incorporating subsequent discoveries is badly needed. Antonio Vives, *La moneda castellana* (Madrid, 1901), is but a suggestive essay and Felipe Mateu y Llopis, *La moneda española* (Barcelona, 1946), is hardly more than a commentary on Heiss. During the period 1109-1112 Alfonso el Batallador and Urraca issued a joint coinage. See Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "La primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla," *Viejos y nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1976), pp. 912-913, n. 65. This study first appeared in *AHDE* 5 (1928):301-345. See also Octavio Gíl Farrés,

her father, Alfonso VI. They sometimes bear her likeness, full face or profile, sometimes merely a cross and her name. The reverse usually names the place in which they were struck. Under Urraca there were mints at León, Toledo, Palencia, Segovia, Zamora, Sahagún, Santiago de Compostela, and Lugo. These mints were intended to make a profit from the difference between what they paid for their materials and the value of the coins that they issued. Thus, in 1123 the church of Toledo was assigned a tenth of the proceeds of the mint there.[64] A few months later, in early 1124, the church of Zamora was granted a tenth of the profits from the mint in that city.[65]

There has been controversy as to whether these mints were operated directly by royal officials or whether the concession was leased to various individuals and agencies. Given the scanty evidence a definitive answer is impossible, but I incline to suspect that the latter was the case, for there is no evidence of a treasurer in the court of Urraca. Direct royal control of the mints would presumably have led to the emergence of one.[66]

The very best testimony that survives is in a diploma of Alfonso VI granting the royal mint of Santiago de Compostela to Bishop Gelmírez in May 1107. The "Historia Compostelana" dramatically, though not entirely accurately, describes Alfonso's decision to make that donation in order to provide for the costs of construction of that shrine and its

"Monedas cristianas de vellón de Alfonso VI y Doña Urraca en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *RABM* 56 (1950):637-646. The latest survey is Octavio Gíl Farrés, *Historia de la moneda española*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1976), pp. 312-317. He believes there may also have been a mint at Oviedo and establishes that Alfonso of Aragón issued coinage minted in Toledo and in Segovia.

[64] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 11.

[65] AC Zamora, Tumbo negro, fols. 20v-21r.

[66] The state of the question is reviewed, and argued from his customary centralist position, by Sánchez-Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," *Viejos y nuevos estudios*, pp. 899-915. See also Vives, *Moneda castellana*, p. 11.

perpetual maintenance.[67] It is clear from this charter that the design of the coins themselves was ordinarily stipulated by the crown, for the bishop is explicitly authorized to issue those of another design. The crown evidences much concern with both counterfeiting and profit. There is also mention of a provost of the royal mints.[68]

No corroborative testimony for the existence of such a centralized control is to be found for the reign of Alfonso himself or those of his daughter or grandson. At least for the reign of Urraca it seems more likely that "prepositus" was a term used in its generic sense for whoever was designated actually to oversee the operations of a single mint. Urraca's grant of a mint in October 1116 to the abbot of Sahagún is innocent of any reference to such an official.[69] The abbot was simply given the perpetual right to mint coins and to prosecute counterfeiters. No design nor standards are specified, nor is there any mention of royal officials.

This mint seems to have been the only one established by Urraca, and it is likely that she did so to maintain the loyalty of the abbot there at a critical moment in her struggle with Aragón. Probably due to the same circumstances was her grant of half the proceeds of the mint at Palencia to the bishop of that city not long before, mentioned in a bull of Paschal II of March 25, 1116.[70] This mint evidently antedated her reign, as did all the rest with the possible exceptions of those at Zamora and Segovia.

Neither her grant of coinage to an ecclesiastic nor her alienation of a portion of their procedes represents a departure from royal practice. As we have seen, Alfonso VI granted an

[67] Flórez, *ES*, 20:65-69.

[68] AC Compostela, Tumbo A, fol. 27v, Tumbo C, fol. 219r; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:70-72 app.: "prepositus omnium mearum monetarum. . . ."

[69] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 16; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 512-513.

[70] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 1.727, fols. 37v-38r: ". . . et monetae partem mediam que ibidem sit quam ab Urraca regina tua strenuita adquisivit."

established mint at Compostela to its bishop and had also alienated a third of the profits of the mint at Lugo to its bishop.[71] The magnitude of the revenues from the mints is unknown, but in all likelihood it was substantial.

The most apparent and most regular activity in which all revenues were expended was war. Of her seventeen-year reign there are only four years in which we have no evidence of a campaign. The gathering of the royal host in the spring of the year would, then, have been an almost annual event, as would have been the collection of the fossataria from those who declined to come. In all likelihood the proceeds of this levy were brought to the gathering by those bishops, counts, and *merinos* who did respond to the summons to the campaign.

All the evidence points to the queen herself as the formal commander of the army. In the marked absence of an alférez during her reign, although the office was traditional in that of her father and would reappear in that of her son, we must suppose that on most of these occasions the practical direction of military operations fell to Count Pedro González of Lara. Doubtless he was assisted by some sort of high council of the great magnates. In a regional campaign, such as took place in the trans-Duero in the spring of 1116, the leadership might be entrusted to another figure, in this case Count Pedro Froilaz of Galicia under the titular direction of Alfonso Raimúndez.[72]

Participation in these campaigns remained a public duty and not one incumbent merely on those who held lands of the crown. Thus, for example, in a fuero for the men of León and Carrión granted in September of 1109, Urraca exempted widows from the payment of the fossataria, slaves who did not bear arms from either the fossata or the fossataria, and any *caballero* who had married within the year.[73] The army was thus a mixed force of cavalry and infantry, as

[71] Risco, *ES*, 41:319.
[72] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:208.
[73] Risco, *ES*, 35:416–417.

is often noted,[74] and slaves appear as well, probably as baggage handlers, porters, and servants generally.[75]

This duty was probably due once annually, as Alfonso Raimúndez specifically stated in his fuero to the men of Toledo in November of 1118.[76] It is also safe to assume that it was possible to satisfy one's obligation in terms similar to those of the fuero of Sepúlveda, which excused from personal service anyone who furnished a caballero with a helmet and breastplate or any four *peones* who supplied an ass for baggage. This fuero was originally granted by Alfonso VI in 1076.[77] The only surviving information about the actual size of the armies so raised comes from the "Historia Compostelana," which says that at the battle of Viadangos in 1111 the Galician force numbered only two hundred seventy-six, while the Aragonese numbered seven hundred and seventy

[74] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:213: "equitum atque peditum," and 246: "tam militum quam peditum."

[75] Ibid., p. 128: ". . . In eadem Civitate pedites et mancipia reficerent, ea quae in itinere debilitata fuerant et viatica necessaria praepararent."

[76] Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, p. 364. Caution is necessary in all these generalizations, for it is difficult to date precisely any particular provision of this fuero or that of Sepúlveda; both were subject to later reformulation. This characteristic of the fueros will be discussed in a later chapter on the towns. Derek Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), has a useful general sketch in "Conditions of Warfare," pp. 94-111. In two critical studies, "The Origins and Development of Municipal Military Service in the Leonese and Castilian Reconquest, 800-1250," *Traditio* 26 (1970):91-111, and "Townsmen and Soldiers: The Interaction of Urban and Military Organization in the Militias of Medieval Castile," *Speculum* 46 (1971):641-655, James F. Powers goes as far as is currently possible in analyzing the terminology of the fuero material and the conclusions that may be drawn from it. He also reviews the earlier literature on the subject. Further progress will depend on the sifting of the charters.

[77] Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 281-286. Moreover, this service might be limited to the immediate area of a town, as seems indicated by the difficulties of getting the men of Compostela to serve in the Portuguese campaign of 1120; Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:325. The reference apparently is to the fuero of Compostela granted by Count Raymond in December of 1105, which limited their obligation to an expedition of one day only; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:61-63 app.

cavalry and two thousand infantry.[78] The latter numbers sound about right for a major campaign.

The summoning of the host was accomplished by royal letters sent to the bishops and counts of the realm. Two examples of these letters survive, incorporated in the text of the "Historia Compostelana." The first directs Bishop Gelmírez to lay seige to certain castles in Galicia held by rebels and, once they have been reduced, to retain control of them himself or to entrust them to loyal nobles.[79] The second is a summons to the Burgos campaign of 1113 and directs Bishop Gelmírez to organize the nobles and knights of Galicia and to accompany them himself.[80] Both specify the purpose of the mobilization, which perhaps was a necessity of custom, but are otherwise quite general.

It is not clear what length of service was expected from those called to arms. In the Burgos campaign of 1113 the Galician contingent left Compostela on May 30 but did not actually arrive at Burgos until late June. By July 8 the Aragonese garrison of the citadel there had surrendered, and the Galicians decided to go home.[81] The queen desired instead that they go to the relief of the castle of Berlanga to the south, and eventually she prevailed, although not without difficulty. All this suggests that the length of service was that necessary to accomplish the purpose of the expedition as stated in the letter of summons, and that it could not be extended to effect other purposes simply by royal fiat.

Part of the price paid by Urraca to secure an extension of service on this occasion was the exemption of the bishop of Compostela from personally accompanying his forces on such expeditions in the future.[82] The exemption implies that the obligation of the fossata applied to the great ecclesiastics of the realm as well as to lay subjects. The presence of four

[78] Flórez, *ES*, 20:122.
[79] Ibid., pp. 132-133.
[80] Ibid., pp. 152-153.
[81] Ibid., p. 168: "Jam Galliciani diem repatriandi statuunt. . . ."
[82] Ibid., p. 169.

other bishops, including the primate of Toledo, in the host on this occasion reinforces that conclusion.[83]

In summary, central government in León-Castilla during the reign of Urraca is essentially personal government. The queen in her curia is the heart of the realm. That curia regularly is expanded, for the more important considerations, into a larger body, or *curia generalis*, and can function in her absence but has developed no formalized permanent offices or officers. An embyro chancery exists, but it has not yet been organized into a hierarchy of offices. A court majordomo is a regular, household officer but he has no perceptible staff, and the management of the fisc appears to be mostly a local matter.

The dynastic lands are assigned particular functions, especially for the support of junior members of the dynasty, the counts, and the maintenance of royal residences and castles, thus facilitating their local administration. Similarly, the sources of other revenue are managed and collected outside the court. Tolls on the major roads are surprisingly developed, as are the mints. Both are subject to some royal control but there is no evidence of the crown's continuous and direct intervention in their operation.

Although the army itself is supported by a strong tradition of general and public service, it possesses no regular structure or head apart from the queen herself. It is, however, called up regularly, perhaps annually, and its convening is accompanied by the collection of the most important general tax of the realm, the fossataria.

Such a personal government was embodied for most of its subjects primarily in its local administrators. Contact with the latter was maintained through their occasional attendance at court or at gatherings of the host but, above all, by the progress of the court itself about the countryside. Except for wintertime, when the queen and court were usually at Sahagún or León, the court traveled continuously and widely

[83] Ibid., p. 163.

to maintain that contact. Regions such as Toledo and Asturias excepted, most major divisions of the realm could expect to see their sovereign at least once a year. To determine just how effective was the direction and influence of the peripatetic central government, we need to consider the local organs of government.

TEN

COUNTS AND CASTELLANS: LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN AN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

DURING the reign of Urraca the local government of the kingdom can mean only government that can be perceived as functioning in the great subdivisions of León, Galicia, Asturias, the trans-Duero, and that portion of Castilla not removed from her control by the occupation of Alfonso of Aragón. Portugal, from Braga south to Coimbra, had become effectively independent on the death of her father and could have been reunited with the remainder of the realm only by the accession of Count Henry to the crown of León. Rioja, like a portion of Castilla, had passed under the control of Aragón.

To the south the new acquisition of Toledo remained just barely within the realm. Buffeted by the Murābit attempts at reconquest and claimed by Alfonso of Aragón, it maintained an uneasy, practical independence under Alvar Fáñez until the latter's death in 1114. After his death Toledo recognized the nominal overlordship of Aragón until 1117. Late in that year Alfonso Raimúndez was received in the imperial city. His control there, at first slight, was to grow until it formed a virtual appanage from 1121 until his mother's death in 1126. Assuredly local government in Toledo was irregular.

Within the realm that remained to her, the local government of Urraca was dominated by the figure of the count. Any assessment of its actual working must therefore begin with a consideration of the significance of the countship.

Many problems emerge in the examination of the office of count in the early twelfth century. Perhaps the most useful

first observation is that the title was quite rare. Examination of roughly five hundred fifty royal and private documents of the period 1109-1126 yields a little more than twelve hundred distinguishable, nonclerical male names, only thirty-four of whom are ever designated as "count." If we accept the total population of Urraca's territories as roughly one million,[1] it becomes even more obvious how important a person the count was.

Even when individuals who may be identified securely as counts confirm documents they do not invariably appear with that title. Often they are mentioned merely as "mandante in" or "imperante in" or "tenens" or simply as "in." If such designations are taken always and simply to imply comital position, then the number of persons holding that dignity during Urraca's reign increases by another thirty-two. For reasons to be considered later, I do not believe that such a simple equivalence is tenable.[2]

The character of the documents raises, but does not settle, another question. Eleven of the thirty-one counts identifiable in the records of Urraca's reign are never connected at all with any territorial unit. Has the countship become by this time a heritable dignity, separable from any necessary public jurisdiction?

In two documents of Pedro Ansúrez of 1114 his grandson, Armengol, was accorded the comital title not because of any public charge he fulfilled but, in all probability, because of his descent from the line of the counts of Urgel.[3] Bertran, nephew of Alfonso of Aragón, was styled count in four documents of Urraca in the years 1113 to 1115, but it was not

[1] I follow the figures of José Ángel García de Cortázar, *Historia de España alfaguera*, vol. 2, *La época medieval* (Madrid, 1973), p. 206.

[2] This discussion presumes the account of Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de las instituciones españolas* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 501-507, although the latter is much too general to do more than raise the questions addressed here.

[3] Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds. *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 1:91-98.

until the Council of Burgos in 1117 that she recognized his jurisdiction in Carrión de los Condes.[4] The fact that both instances involve strangers to the realm may indicate a purely courteous use of the title. A survey of the structure of counties may be more revealing.

First, the old county of Castilla has been resolved into a welter of lesser units. In the first known document of Urraca's reign, Gómez González confirms as "castellanorum comes,"[5] a title that had occasionally been accorded him during the reign of Alfonso VI. For a dozen years, between 1087 and 1099, Count Gómez had been the alférez of Alfonso VI. According to thirteenth-century chronicles he had been the first choice of the nobility as a husband for Urraca in 1109 and was later her lover.[6] He died at Candespina in the fall of 1111 leading the queen's forces against Alfonso of Aragón.

But except insofar as he was then the leading member of the house of Lara, he was in no way count of all Castilla.[7] The territories that he actually governed lay about sixty kilometers east of Burgos, on the border of Rioja, around Pancorbo and Cerezo de Riotirón in the Bureba.[8] As a magnate and official of the frontier, his own ambitions in the valley of the Ebro may well account for his hostility to the union with Aragón.

[4] The first of these was dated August 28, 1113; published in Francisco de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1719-21), 2:454.

[5] Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 36:94-96 app.

[6] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera crónica general* (Madrid, 1955), 2:644 and 647.

[7] Gregorio de Balparda y las Herreiras, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y sus fueros*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1924 and Bilbao, 1933-34), 2:302-303.

[8] Ibid. In a donation of his own to the church of Burgos on May 6, 1107, he styled himself "dominante comite Gomez Gonsalvo Burebam"; Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:129-131. In the joint donation of Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón to the monastery of Valbanera in 1110, he is doubtless that "Gomessanus comes Pont Corvum et Ceresum"; Manuel Lucas Alvárez, ed., "Libro becerro del monasterio de Valbanera," *EEMCA* 4 (1951):602-603.

At the same time his cousin and supplanter as Urraca's favorite, Pedro González, was count in Lara de los Infantes, some thirty kilometers to the southeast of Burgos. Until the end of the reign Pedro appears as count of Lara,[9] but he is also occasionally styled count in Castilla. All these latter designations appear in private documents and should again be understood as indicating a kind of general preeminence only.[10] It is certain, however, that his jurisdiction extended westward some distance from Lara de los Infantes, at least later in the reign, for in April 1122 a private document cited him as count in both Lara and "Palentia del Comite."[11] In June of 1124 a donation of the Infanta Sancha to Cluny mentions him as count of Lara and of Torremormojón, the latter being roughly twenty kilometers west southwest of the city of Palencia.[12]

Probably this extreme western extension of Count Pedro González's territory was an extraordinary measure taken to parallel the long corridor that Alfonso el Batallador had thrust into the kingdom from Burgos through Castrojeriz to Carrión de los Condes. Like Peñafiel, where Pedro was mentioned as count in 1113,[13] Torremormojón was essentially a castle but not ordinarily the center of a county.

North of Burgos, in the valley of the Río Miera and in Asturias de Santillana along the edges of the Basque country, another branch of the Lara held sway, first in the person of

[9] He is "comes laram et medinam" in Urraca and Alfonso's charter to Valbanera in 1110; see preceding note. On September 2, 1125, as count of Lara, he makes a donation to the monastery of Silos; Marius Férotin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 51-53.

[10] February 20, 1117; AD León, Monasterio de Gradefes, no. 16; March 29, 1118; Gradefes, no. 17; and July 18, 1123; Gradefes, no. 21. Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 516-518, a document of Sahagún dated March 26, 1125.

[11] Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana* (Madrid, 1948), pp. 171-173; also published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 171-173.

[12] Alexandre Bruel, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 5:327-328.

[13] AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 893, no. 10.

Count Rodrigo Múñoz. He had been count there at least as early as 1104 and continued to be probably as late as August 11, 1111.[14] By February 28, 1112 he had been relegated to a lesser role, though still a count, in the lands beyond the Miera by his cousin, Rodrigo González, brother of Count Pedro González de Lara.[15]

Count Rodrigo too was able to retain this authority until the end of Urraca's reign and to extend it west also as far as Aguilar de Campoó by 1125.[16] Sometime before that date he had married the Infanta Sancha, half sister of Queen Urraca, and by May 10, 1125 two daughters had been born of the marriage.[17] The marriage was no hindrance to the growth of his jurisdiction. He or his cousin, Rodrigo Múñoz, may have been the Count Rodrigo "in castella" who appears in two of Urraca's donations in May 1112.[18] In any event, the title should not be taken literally.

Between these jurisdictions of the house of Lara stretched the territories successfully held by Alfonso of Aragón through virtually the entirety of Urraca's reign: along the artery of the Camino de Santiago from Logroño in Rioja to Burgos, and beyond to Castrojeriz and Carrión de los Condes. There had been a county centered on Nájera in the time of Alfonso VI. In Burgos the bishop may have held comital powers or something like their equivalent during the same reign.

There is no documentary record of a countship at Castro-

[14] A donation of Urraca to the monastery of Santillana del Mar is confirmed by a "Comes Dopnus Rodericus Asturiensis"; Eduardo Jusué, ed., *Libro de regla o cartulario de la antigua abadía de Santillana del Mar* (Madrid, 1912), p. 68.

[15] AHN, Clero, carp. 378, no. 1: "Potestate in Mera et in Asturias Rodrigo Gonsalvez . . . in Trasmiera Comite Rodrigo Munnioz."

[16] March 26, 1125; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 516-518. November 1, 1125; Sánchez Belda, *Cartulario de Santo Toribio*, pp. 127-128.

[17] Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 46-48.

[18] May 1112; Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 3:81-83 app. May 9, 1112, AHN, Sección de Códices, 15B, fol. 80r.

jeriz in the time of Alfonso VI, but Fernando Ruiz, head of the house of Castro, may have been royal castellan of the fortress there. Opponent of the house of Lara, Fernando was married to the sister of Count Pedro Ansúrez.[19] From that marriage came Guter Fernández, majordomo of Urraca from 1110 to the beginning of 1117, that is, from the beginning of the latter's hostility toward her former husband until just that time when she accepted his de facto rule in central Castilla so as to pursue the consolidation of her authority in Galicia.

Guter Fernández married Toda Díaz, daughter of that Diego Alvárez whose holdings in eastern Castilla around Oca had also passed into Aragonese hands. He was therefore understandably at least the most visible leader of the revolt in the spring and summer of 1119 directed unsuccessfully against Urraca's policy of peace with Aragón. The restoration of his fortunes was not accomplished, however, until after Urraca's death and the reversal of her Aragonese policy by her son.[20]

At the western end of the Aragonese salient lay Carrión de los Condes. In the reign of Alfonso VI this seems to have been the center of a countship in the hands of Pedro Ansúrez that stretched twenty-five kilometers northward along the Río Carrión to Saldaña and some thirty kilometers eastward along the Camino de Santiago to Melgar de Fernamen-

[19] Salvador de Moxo, "De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva," *CH* 3 (1969):61.

[20] For a résumé of the family relationships of Guter Fernández see Luciano Serrano, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral* (Madrid, 1906), pp. xi-xvi. For his subsequent career see Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 236-238. There is a fuero granted by Guter Fernández to the men of San Cebrián dated March 25, 1125, in which he claims authority in Castro (Castrojeriz) and Monzón; Eduardo de Hinojosa, ed., *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 51-53. However, it exists only in an eighteenth-century copy, cites Alfonso as ruling in León, Toledo, and Castilla, and makes no mention of Urraca. I suspect it should be redated to sometime after the Peace of Tamara in 1127.

tal.[21] Whether these lands should be considered as part of the county of Castilla or of the Campo Gótico is a somewhat tangled question.

After the rupture of the marriage between Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón, Carrión and Melgar de Fernamental were lost to León except for a brief period in 1113 when Burgos was recaptured.[22] Pedro Ansúrez maintained his countship in the area until his disappearance from public life after December 9, 1117, but it was now effectively limited to the area around Saldaña.[23] In November 1119 Pedro López of the Riojan house of Haro appeared "in saldania" and continued so until March of 1125.[24] He was never styled count and probably served merely as royal castellan there.

After reaching her understanding with Alfonso of Aragón at the Council of Burgos in February 1117, Urraca seems to have recognized the former's cousin, Bertran, as count of a restored county centered at Carrión. So would her son and successor.[25] Count Bertran's jurisdiction was at that time recognized as legitimate by both Aragón and León. In 1117 his

[21] Francisco Simon y Nieto, *Los antiguos Campos Góticos* (Madrid, 1895), p. 41, says that earlier in the eleventh century the counties of Carrión and Melgar were distinct.

[22] January 23, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 8; and April 23, 1113, no. 9.

[23] AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 18.

[24] November 20, 1119; Sánchez Belda, *Cartulario de Santo Toribio*, pp. 167-169. March 26, 1125; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 516-518. There is also a series of notices, beginning in 1120, of Rodrigo Martínez "in Melgar." This may be Melgar de Fernamental but one cannot be sure. He was the son of Count Martin Osorio but the notices do not style him count. September 27, 1120; AHN, Clero, carp. 961, no. 7. June 20, 1124; AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 13. June 23, 1124; Bruel, *Recueil de Silos*, 5:327-328. On the other hand, the reference could equally well be to Melgar de Arriba, on the Río Cea fifteen kilometers southwest of Sahagún, where there was a royal castle.

[25] His first subsequent confirmation of a document of Urraca occurred on June 30, 1119; Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, pp. 125-127. The last document of this period that he confirms is a charter of Alfonso Raimúndez dated January 19, 1125; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 43.

effective superior would have been the Aragonese monarch, but he gradually gravitated toward the Leonese court.

For practical purposes, then, during the reign of Urraca three major counts and one minor one held actual jurisdiction within the boundaries of the old county of Castilla. In Asturias the situation was somewhat simpler. In the east the jurisdiction of Rodrigo González of Lara overlapped into Asturias de Santillana, as we have seen.

In the center of the old province, Asturias de Oviedo, there was no count; at least, there was no one who bore that title. Instead, one man, Gonzalo Peláez, appears from almost the beginning of Urraca's reign until its end under a variety of designations but never that of count. On July 2, 1110, in his first appearances, he is cited as "in Oveto";[26] on June 13, 1113, as "dominante Asturias";[27] on December 22, 1113, as "caput terra";[28] in May 1120, as "regnante Asturias";[29] on May 26, 1120, as "Asturias presidente";[30] and in 1123, in the most frequently used terminology, as "potestas in Asturias."[31] If all these variants are to be taken as simple equivalents of the comital dignity, why is he never, in some thirty-six known documents, simply styled "count"?

In fact, the last known reference to a count in Asturias is dated March 19, 1106.[32] All of this suggests that during the last years of Alfonso VI, or at the very beginning of Urraca's reign, a decision was made by the crown not to appoint a new count. Probably in the interests of the increased author-

[26] Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1968), pp. 228-229. He confirmed three other known documents in the last decade of the preceding century but without title.

[27] Ibid., pp. 234-235.

[28] Ibid., pp. 235-236.

[29] Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 365-366.

[30] Ibid., pp. 364-365.

[31] Floriano Llorente, *Colección de San Vicente*, p. 158.

[32] García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 336-337, a document of Alfonso VI.

ity of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo only a castellan was named in the county. The bearer of that essentially military jurisdiction was a new man, unrelated to the old comital house so far as we know.

On November 18, 1118 Urraca made a donation of some fisc lands in the province of León to one Gonzalo Peláez, "fideli meo." If this is the same man, and I am inclined to suspect that it is, then it is possible that the castellan was Leonese rather than Asturian by birth.[33] In any event his authority grew steadily through his long tenure. During the reign of Alfonso VII he was eventually awarded the countship, subsequently rebelled against Alfonso, and ended his life in exile in Portugal.[34]

The evidence is that toward the middle of Urraca's reign the queen found it necessary to limit Gonzalo Peláez's authority in western Asturias. As early as 1115 one Gonzalo Sánchez appeared as castellan in Tineo, forty kilometers west of Oviedo.[35] Then in 1120 and again in 1125 a Suero appeared as count there.[36] The latter is to be identified with that Suero who was also mentioned as count in Luna, the district in the extreme northwest of the province of León from which two passes led over the Cordillera Cantabrica and down into western Asturias near Tineo.[37]

This count is the magnate Suero Vermúdez, an important

[33] AHN, Clero, carp. 977, no. 3. Carlos Estepa Díez, *Estructura social de la ciudad de León* (León, 1977), p. 269, makes the identification but presumes Gonzalo to be Asturian.

[34] Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Estudios de historia de Asturias* (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 153-169. Also, Elida García García, "El conde asturiano Gonzalo Peláez," *Asturiensia medievalia* 2 (1975):39-64.

[35] May 22, 1115; BN, Sección de Manuscritos, 720, fols. 275v-276v. January 20, 1116; ibid., fols. 278r-279r.

[36] May 26, 1120; García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 364-365. June 1125; ibid., pp. 372-373.

[37] Suero appeared as count in Luna nine times between 1117 and 1124. The earliest is February 1117; Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, vol. 2, *Documentos, 923-1168* (Logroño, 1976), pp. 111-112; the latest is June 23, 1124; Bruel, *Recueil de Cluny*, 5:327-328.

figure at the court of Urraca, related to the royal family, to the Ansúrez, and to the Trastamaras of Galicia.[38] Floriano Cumbreño makes of him a largely Asturian figure, gives him a different wife and genealogy, and characterizes him as an antagonist of Gonzalo Peláez in Asturias from the beginning of Urraca's reign.[39] There is little actual evidence for Suero's influence in Asturias before 1117, but after that date it increased very rapidly, and his house was instrumental in Gonzalo's downfall during the reign of Alfonso VII.[40]

The administrative scheme that emerges, then, for the old province of Asturias during the reign of Urraca is the dissolution of the single countship. In the center, his authority has been divided between the bishop of Oviedo and a castellan. In the east the Laras of Castilla hold sway. In the west the power of a Leonese count is extended northward by 1120 at the latest.

In Galicia a situation roughly analogous to that in Castilla and Asturias prevails. In twelve documents between 1110 and 1122, Pedro Froilaz of the house of Trastamara is called count in Galicia.[41] But even before his imprisonment by Urraca in 1123 at no time did his authority extend to all of Galicia. It is obvious, first, that in the lands between the Ullan and Tambre in west central Galicia, Bishop/Archbishop Diego Gelmírez held independent public authority. A charter of

[38] See his genealogy in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Belmonte* (Oviedo, 1960), pp. 302-305, and, for much of his history, Estepa Díez, *Estructura social*, pp. 275-277.

[39] *Estudios de Asturias*, pp. 149-151. He is following the genealogies worked out by Menéndez Pidal for the latter's hero, El Cid, and his wife, Jimena, which are unfortunately not very sound.

[40] A "Suarium comitem" shares jurisdiction in a suit resolved before Bishop Pelayo and Gonzalo Peláez in 1114; Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *El libro registro de Corias*, 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1950), 1:56.

[41] March 29, 1110, the first, in Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, pp. 78-81; March 22, 1122, the last, in ARG, Reales, no. 2.

Urraca dated May 23, 1121 and citing Pedro Froilaz as count "in maritimis" provides a better description of the realities.[42]

Actually Count Pedro's authority as count, as distinct from his authority as leader of a party, seems never to have reached beyond the extreme northwest of Galicia. It comprised the districts lying north of the Río Tambre and extending eastward from the Atlantic beyond La Coruña. But there was another count in the district of Montenegro, north of Lugo and west of Mondoñedo.

The count of Montenegro was Guter Vermúdez, married to a daughter of Pedro Froilaz but also a brother of Suero Vermúdez, Count of Luna and Tineo.[43] He appears as count of Montenegro as early as May 1112 and as late as March 1117.[44] But he was also one of those counts who made their submission to Alfonso VII at Zamora in April of 1126, so that he probably continued in that jurisdiction until the end of Urraca's reign.[45]

South of the county of Montenegro, below Lugo and west of the upper Miño, straddling the Camino de Santiago, lay the county of Monteroso. Its count was Munio Peláez, who first appears in that capacity in May 1112.[46] He was born of a local family descended from the founders of the monastery of Santa María de Ferreira in Pallares, and he himself had

[42] Emilio Duro Peña, "El monasterio de San Miguel de Bóveda," *AL* 31 (1977):153-154. A judicial document of November 1, 1109 cites "dux domnus Petrus Froile qui territorio citerio Superaddo imperanti"; Pilar Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, ed., *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976), 1:184-185.

[43] José Campelo, ed., *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Manuel Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), p. 216, n. 2; and Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 238.

[44] May 1112; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app. March 1, 1117; Enrique Flórez, *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 18:342-344. He also appears as count of Monteroso on May 14, 1112, in what is probably an error of the scribe; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:79-80 app.

[45] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 9.

[46] Flórez, ed., HC, *ES*, 20:126.

married Lupa, daughter of Count Pedro Froilaz.[47] According to the "Historia Compostelana," Count Munio generally played a conciliatory role in the factional struggles in Galicia but in the spring of 1120 was briefly imprisoned and deprived of his lands by Urraca.[48] By 1121, however, he was again supporting the queen against Archbishop Gelmírez.[49] On March 8, 1123 Urraca confirmed a donation that the count made to the church of Lugo.[50] He was still count in 1134.[51]

Just east across the Miño and north of the Río Sil lay the county of Lemos-Sarria. There Urraca's staunchest supporter in Galicia, Rodrigo Vélaz, held the countship at least as early as May 1112 and as late as 1142.[52] This count appears most frequently both in the documents of Urraca and in the "Historia Compostelana." But none of his own documents seems to have survived and his family connections are obscure. Probably he should be identified as the son of Count Vela Ovéquiz, who appears with some frequency in the early documents of Alfonso VI. In 1078 the count lost a royal judgment to the see of Lugo.[53] Count Rodrigo Vélaz was cited in 1113 as harassing the church of Lugo, which suggests a continuing friction between the family and the see of Lugo over their respective jurisdictions.[54]

South of the Sil and the Miño after their confluence, beyond Orense, was the county of Limia. There Alfonso Nuñez was count perhaps as early as May 1112, and as late as June 1, 1125.[55] Again we have an important noble who ap-

[47] Campelo, *Historia Compostelana*, pp. cviii; 121, n. 1; and 184, n. 5.

[48] Flórez, *ES*, 20:312 and 315.

[49] Ibid., p. 347.

[50] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.325C, no. 11.

[51] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:559.

[52] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 254. On January 5, 1111 a private document cites "tenante illam terram Lemabus Comite Dnus Froila"; BN, Manuscritos, 18.387, fol. 250v.

[53] Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28–42 (Madrid, 1774–1801), 40:417–422.

[54] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:182.

[55] In the first document he is cited merely as "dominans in lymia"; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app. The first document in which his comital title

pears with some frequency in the documents and in the "Historia Compostelana" but whose family relationships are currently unknown. He supported the party of Urraca in Galicia despite the fact that he had been alférez of Count Raymond of Burgundy and would have felt some loyalty to the latter's son as well.[56]

The remaining county in Galicia was that held by Gómez Núñez in Toroño, a district bounded by the Atlantic on the west and the Miño on the south and roughly corresponding to the diocesan limits of Túy. In 1112 he was majordomo of Count Henry. His career was one of shifts between the sovereigns of an emerging Portugal and those of León-Castilla into the reign of Alfonso VII.[57] He appears as count in a charter of Urraca in 1115.[58] By 1118 he served the young Alfonso Raimúndez briefly as alcalde of Talavera de la Reina on the Tajo.[59]

Count Gómez was also married to a daughter of Count Pedro Froilaz by at least 1117.[60] At some point the influential noble Fernando Yañez, señor in Puente Sampayo on the route to Compostela, became Gómez's son-in-law.[61] Though often in opposition and sometimes in open rebellion against Urraca, Gómez never went so far as to forfeit his countship.

Of the six counties in Galicia during Urraca's reign, Count Pedro Froilaz held but one. The counties of Montenegro, Monteroso, and Toroño were nonetheless connected to the house of Trastamara by marriage to daughters of Count Pedro, and his preeminence in the province was reflected and

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is explicit is dated July 5, 1118; AHN, Códices, 986B, fol. 180v. His last known appearance is in a document of Alfonso Raimúndez; BN, Manuscritos, 5.982, fols. 32v-33r.

[56] April 1, 1101; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.749, no. 1.

[57] Rui Pinto de Azevedo, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:40-41. For a brief résumé of his career see Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 234-235.

[58] López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:104-105 app.

[59] AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 12r.

[60] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:246.

[61] Ibid., p. 503.

strengthened in that fact. It was fortunate for Urraca that the Trastamaras had lost control of the bishopric of Mondoñedo with the death of Bishop Gonzalo in 1109 and never regained it. Also understandable is her desire to install her own chaplain as bishop in Lugo in 1113. Without these two to bolster her position in the east, she would have been in danger of being in effect excluded from the province.

In the very center of the realm, the office of count is much less prominent and its significance correspondingly difficult to understand. The greatest figure here is that of Froila Díaz. Already a count in the reign of Alfonso VI and associated with Count Raymond of Burgundy,[62] his jurisdiction was variously expressed but most often located in the territory of Valdeorras, some thirty kilometers southwest of Ponferrada.[63] By 1107 he seems already to have been count in Astorga,[64] a designation that both then and later most likely meant the extensive terra of Astorga.

Until his death in 1119 Count Froila is most frequently identified with Astorga. However, on July 22, 1109 he was cited as "legionensium comes," which title may well be honorific.[65] On November 17, 1110 he was styled "count in terra de legione et in gralare," which may indicate an emergency authority connected with the circumstances of the rupture between Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón.[66] Again in June of 1115 he was called count in Ceia, probably at the height of the struggle between the partisans of Urraca and those of her Aragonese husband for control of Sahagún just to the south.[67] Three times Froila appeared as count in Aguilar. Of the many

[62] Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 506.

[63] Augusto Quintana Prieto, ed., *Tumbo viejo de San Pedro de Montes* (León, 1971), pp. 203-204: "comite imperante in Iorres." Augusto Quintana Prieto, *Monografía histórica del Bierzo* (Madrid, 1956), pp. 166-167, identifies "Iorres" as Valdeorras.

[64] AC Salamanca, cajón 16, legajo 1, no. 30.

[65] Risco, *ES*, 36:94-96 app.

[66] AD León, Gradefes, no. 14.

[67] Luis Fernández, ed., *Colección diplomática de la abadia de Santa María de Benevivere, 1020-1561* (Madrid, 1967), pp. 9-10.

places so called, the most likely is a district in the northwest of the territory of Bierzo.[68]

The extreme west of the province of León, the gateway to and from Galicia, was secure in the hands of Count Froila Díaz until his death in 1119. After that, no other count of Astorga is recorded in the documents for the remainder of the reign. His son Ramiro Froilaz appears merely as castellan of the fortress of Ulver in the Bierzo,[69] and later he may have been alcalde in Toledo.[70] Ramiro was to figure importantly in the reign of Alfonso VII and achieved the comital dignity then.[71] Another son, Diego Froilaz, never achieved comital rank but eventually became alférez of Alfonso VII.[72]

To the north and west of the county of Astorga lay the county of Luna, which may well have been a new jurisdiction organized in 1117. We hear nothing of it in the reign of Alfonso VI nor in the reign of Urraca up to that time, although there had long been a royal castle there. It first appears in the hands of Count Suero Vermúdez in February 1117 and so continued until at least 1124.[73] As mentioned above, his jurisdiction was extended into western Asturias by 1120.

In 1114 and again in 1116 Suero Vermúdez also appeared as "legionensium comes," but the title is more likely to be descriptive than a literal designation of authority over either the city or province of León.[74] When he made his obedience

[68] December 20, 1111; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 7. May 1112; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app. May 9, 1112; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 80r. See Quintana Prieto, *Monografía del Bierzo*, p. 181.

[69] March 6, 1122; Quintana Prieto, *Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes*, pp. 230-231.

[70] November 29, 1123; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 10. November 30, 1123; ibid., fol. 11.

[71] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 249. Also, Estepa Díez, *Estructura social*, pp. 280-281.

[72] Estepa Díez, ibid.

[73] February 1117; Rodríguez de Lama, *Colección diplomática de Rioja*, 2:111-112. June 23, 1124; Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), p. 132.

[74] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 255-256. January 20, 1116; BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 278r-279r.

to Alfonso VII at the very beginning of the latter's reign he was described as count holding "Astoricam, Lunam, Gordonam cum Bergidi parte, recnon Babadiam et Flatianam, totum que vallem usque ad ripam fluminis qui dicitur Ova et usque ad Cabrunianam."[75] If the chronicler has not been carried away by his own enthusiasm, Count Suero by then controlled all of the mountainous area between León and Galicia north to the Bay of Biscay and a long salient, north of León and south of Oviedo, running eastward almost to the borders of Asturias de Santillana.

In the crucial areas of the city of León itself and the broad lands east and south of it where so much of the fisc was concentrated, no comital authority was needed because of the very frequent presence of the sovereign herself. In addition to those instances, already discussed, when Froila Díaz and Suero Vermúdez were styled counts in León or counts of the Leonese, a private document of Valladolid, dated February 18, 1110, cites Pedro Ansúrez as count in León.[76] But all of these instances are ambiguous or clearly exceptional.

Pedro González was called count of Peñafiel in 1113, probably only in reference to his then immediate tenancy of that castle on the Duero.[77] There is a single notice of one Froila Vicéntez as count in "fontes" (cifuentes?) in 1117.[78] In 1119 one Fernando was called count of "campos" but the document is a forgery.[79] But two documents of 1124 called a Fernando count in Malgrado.[80] One additional document, dated July 31, 1126, shortly after Urraca's death, refers to a

[75] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, p. 6.

[76] Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pelayo y Vega*, pp. 35-37.

[77] June 13, 1113; Clero, carp. 893, no. 10.

[78] December 9, 1117; ibid., no. 19. This document, however, lists the wrong name for the abbot of Sahagún.

[79] September 26, 1119; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:107-109 app. Also, the fuero of Guter Fernández discussed in note 20, probably misdated to March 25, 1125, cites a Count Ferando "in Cabia et in Carrione."

[80] June 20, 1124; AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 13. June 23, 1124; García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, p. 132.

Count Munio in Mayorga.[81] Nowhere is there the sort of continuing record such as that supporting the identification of counties in Castilla, Asturias, and Galicia. It appears wisest to see these scattered notices as instances of exceptional and occasional delegations of royal authority.

Only well to the south on the Duero, at Simancas and Cabezón, is there some evidence of the existence of a county. Count Pedro Ansúrez and his family were great proprietors in this area around Valladolid in addition to their holdings in the vicinity of Saldaña. In four documents, all of 1115, he is described as count in Cabezón and Simancas.[82] But after the death of Pedro Ansúrez no further evidence of such a count or county exists for the duration of Urraca's reign. The count's surviving son, Fernando, played but a limited role in Leonese affairs after his father's demise.[83] His grandson, Armengol of Urgel, does not emerge as an important figure until well into the reign of Alfonso VII.[84]

Beyond the Duero and the Sierra de Guadarrama, however, in a long triangle extending from Osma in the east to Zamora in the west, south to Talavera de la Reina, east along the Tagus, and then irregularly northeast back to Osma, lay another third of the realm. Contested by Teresa of Portugal in the west, by the Muslim along the south, and by Alfonso of Aragón in the east, it was nevertheless finally retained by Urraca. Almost at the end of her reign, in 1124, it was actually extended in the east to include Atienza and Sigüenza. From 1117 it was entrusted as a virtual appanage to her son Alfonso Raimúndez under the tutelage of Archbishop Ber-

[81] Luis Fernández Martín, ed., "Colección diplomática del monasterio de Santervás de Campos," *AL* 32 (1978):196.

[82] February 4, 1115; Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:99-102, is the earliest. December 11, 1115, ibid., pp. 109-112, is the latest. August 18, 1110; ibid., pp. 82-84, cites him as "Comes Mayordomus Petrus in Sancta Maria de Karrion et in Cabezon."

[83] Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), p. 57.

[84] Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 238-239.

nard of Toledo until the latter's death in April of 1125. But it was never organized into counties during her lifetime.

Unevenly and sparsely settled by her sometime subjects, this land remained a frontier area throughout her reign. There the landless, the adventurous, the outlawed could take up the land at their own hazard. North of the Guadarramas this process had been going on since the time of her grandfather, Fernando I, and had been extended south of that barrier by Alfonso VI. The dominant occupations of the area were stockraising and the closely related enterprise of raiding the herds of the rarely distant enemy.[85] Even the coinage of the region seems to have been more often that of the southern, Muslim world than that of León-Castilla.[86]

In this environment the unit of government, with few exceptions, was the town rather than the county. Towns like Sepúlveda, Segovia, Ávila, and Salamanca had jurisdiction over wide stretches of the countryside, the *alfoz*, whose boundaries were not infrequently open-ended toward the Muslim south. The legal framework of their government was contained in their fueros. Their officials were most often of local provenance and sometimes of their own choosing or, at least, nomination.[87]

Above that strictly local level, government was in the hands of a señor or a bishop as representative of the royal power. From the Christian disaster at Zalaca in 1086 through the

[85] José María Lacarra, "Les villes-frontière dans Espagne des XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Le moyen âge* 69 (1963):205-222. Charles Julian Bishko, "El Castellano, hombre de llanura," *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives* (Barcelona, 1965), 1:201-218. For the newness and incomplete character of the repopulation of the trans-Duero, see Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966), pp. 378-385, and Julio González, "Repoblación de la 'Extremadura' leonesa," *Hispania* 3 (1943):205.

[86] Jean Gautier-Dalché, "L'histoire monetaire de l'Espagne septentrionale et centrale du IX^e au XII^e siècle," *AEM* 6 (1969):61.

[87] Lacarra, "Les villes-frontière," pp. 212-214. See also Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Orígenes de la burguesía en la España medieval* (Madrid, 1969), pp. 189-193, and Nilda Guglielmi, "La figura de juez en el concejo," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), 2:1003-24.

entire reign of Urraca until 1126, such authority must have been tenuous indeed and we hear relatively little of it. From 1109 until his death in 1114, Alvar Fáñez seems to have functioned as a virtual viceroy in this whole region. Urraca's first royal charter, in July 1109, styled him "Toletule Dux."[88] Allied by marriage to the still-great house of the Ansúrez,[89] he defended the new realm of Toledo against a resurgent Islam until he met his death in a popular rebellion in Segovia in 1114.

No one else enjoyed such wide authority thereafter unless it was Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who led more than one military expedition against the Muslim. From the entry of Alfonso Raimúndez into Toledo in November 1117, the real challenge of Alfonso I of Aragón to rule in this area was ended. Again, such general, royal authority as prevailed was in the archbishop's hands when Urraca herself was not south of the Duero. But doubtless the most important advances in the effective authority of the crown in this sprawling area were made between 1120 and 1125, when Zamora, Ávila, Segovia, and Sigüenza were provided with bishops. Much as that process advanced the ecclesiastical empire of Toledo, one suspects that it profited the royal power yet more.

Purely secular royal authority is almost invisible. To be sure, a line of strong points existed on the Duero itself. Starting in the west at Zamora, it included Toro, Tordesillas, Valladolid, Peñafiel, Aranda del Duero, Peñaranda del Duero, San Esteban de Gormaz, and ended at Osma in the east. In some of these places we can sometimes identify a castellan or a count. It is possible that their authority extended south beyond the river itself for some indeterminate distance into the trans-Duero, but we cannot be sure. The notices themselves are most occasional.

In 1117 one Fernandus Meléndez was cited as "mandante" in Zamora and Toro.[90] We know no more about him. In

[88] Risco, *ES*, 36:94-96 app.

[89] Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, p. 55.

[90] August 13, 1117; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 17.

1115, we are told, though not on the basis of what authority, a Gómez Pelayo governed Toro.[91] He is relatively obscure, but the same name appears in five documents of the period. Fernando Fernández, the husband of Urraca's half sister the Infanta Elvira, is given as "de Toro" in an Urracan charter of January 20, 1116.[92] It is possible that he is also the Fernandus Melendez of 1117.

Another thirty-five kilometers upriver at Tordesillas, Martín Pérez is cited as "de Otero de Sellas" in four documents of 1114.[93] He is a noble of some importance, married to Mayor Pérez, daughter of Count Pedro Ansúrez and recent widow of Alvar Fáñez.[94] Count Pedro Ansúrez himself held the central county of Simancas and Cabezón around Valladolid, as mentioned above. Farther east Count Pedro González of Lara held Peñafiel in 1113, but again it is a single notice.[95] Of Aranda del Duero, Peñaranda del Duero, and San Esteban de Gormaz there is no mention for the period. In the easternmost outpost of Osma we know only of the faithful bishop and future primate, Raymond.

South of this line, we are told, a Don Vela held Salamanca from 1107 to 1124 and a Hermigio Martínez during the last two years of Urraca's reign.[96] I can find neither in the documents. It is just possible that the Leonese noble Vermudo Pérez held Alba de Tormes some twenty kilometers southeast even of Salamanca in 1112, but the notice is not unequivocal.[97]

In the center of the trans-Duero there are no notices at all.

[91] Ursicino Alvárez Martínez, *Historia general, civil, y eclesiástica de la provincia de Zamora* (Madrid, 1965), p. 161.

[92] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 278r-279r.

[93] January 18, 1114; BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 277v-278r, a charter of Urraca, is the first. September 18, 1114; Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:95-98, a charter of Pedro Ansúrez, is the last.

[94] Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, p. 55.

[95] June 13, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 10.

[96] Julio González, "Repoblación de la 'Extremadura' leonesa," p. 268.

[97] May 1112; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app.: "dominans in alva."

Beyond the eastern flank of the Guadarramas the southernmost outpost of royal authority mentioned is Hita, on the upper Tajo, just ten kilometers north of Guadalajara and some twenty kilometers southwest of Sigüenza. Fernando Garciaz, husband of Estefanía of Armengol and perhaps cousin to Urraca and son of the unfortunate King García of Galicia, appears in eleven documents of the period between 1110 and 1125 as "de Hita."[98] As early as the time of Alfonso VI, Fernando was styled alcalde of Medina and Guadalajara.[99] We cannot call him a count, for in none of his thirty-three appearances in the documents of Urraca's reign is he so designated. Nevertheless, it is obvious that he was the leading representative of royal authority in the territory of the upper Tajo basin from at least the time of the death of Alvar Fáñez.

At Medinaceli, twenty-five kilometers northeast of Sigüenza, Pedro González is cited as count on three different occasions in 1110.[100] Probably the citation should be understood as implying his direct control of that important fortress. In the myriad of his subsequent notices the title never recurs, for Medinaceli itself could not be held. In the extreme east of the realm, fifty kilometers northeast of Medinaceli and the same distance southeast of Soria, at Deza, there is a single notice of one Froila Arias in 1112. He is styled "de Deza" in a charter of Urraca.[101] Whatever the significance of that notation, Deza never reappears in Urraca's documents.

Given the state of the existing evidence, the entire region between the Duero and the Tagus should be seen as in fact

[98] 1110; Manuel Lucas Alvárez, "Libro becerro del monasterio de Valbanera," *EEMCA* 4 (1951):602-603, in the first. July 21, 1125; Juan de Álamo, ed., *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña* (Madrid, 1950), 1:189-191, in the last. Although this document is certainly suspect, Fernando's confirmation may well reflect the existing state of affairs.

[99] May 8, 1109; AHN, Códices, 1.242, fols. 51v-52r.

[100] 1110; see note 98. 1110; Rodríguez de Lama, *Colección diplomática Rioja*, 2:106-107. August 15, 1110; Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 298-299.

[101] May 9, 1112; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 80r.

largely autonomous. The authority of the crown was not denied there, for no alternative authority could be imagined. Between 1114 and 1117 the authority of Alfonso of Aragón was sought, at least in some areas like Segovia and Toledo, in the hope of more effective protection against the Muslim.

When the attention of the Aragonese focused on the conquest of Zaragoza in 1117, the reassertion of Leonese overlordship was easily negotiated in the name of Alfonso Raimúndez. In fact, however, the bishops of the area remained steadfastly loyal to Urraca, and their influence was essential to the loose control she exerted in the region. After the death of Bishop Jerome of Salamanca in 1120, the network of bishoprics was elaborated and filled with her supporters through the mediation of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo. In 1124 the eastern flank of the zone was consolidated with the capture of Sigüenza and the erection of a bishopric there. But as we have seen, the Leonese queen was necessarily often preoccupied with the maintenance of her authority in the west. When she traveled in the trans-Duero her authority was admitted, but one can hardly speak of regular, royal government there and certainly not of organized counties.

Elsewhere in the realm, as we have already seen, the countship was not the sole pillar of royal government. In the center of the lands of León there was no count. The city of León itself may, in some few cases of emergency, have come under the authority of Pedro Ansúrez, Froila Díaz, or Suero Vermúdez, all of them counts elsewhere. Ordinarily, however, royal authority in the city was in the hands of the castellan of the royal towers, or fortress, at the southern gate of the city. The known holders of this dignity are Pelayo Muñoz in 1110, Pedro Catha Mosca in 1112, Pedro Díaz in 1118 and perhaps 1119, Jimeno López in 1120, Pedro Bravólez in 1123-1124, and perhaps Guter Fernández in 1125.[102]

[102] May 18, 1110; Luis Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1940), 3:204: "tenente arces legionis." June 3, 1112; ibid., p. 209: "vicario in legione petro catha mosca et qui tenebat illas turres de legione aurelia"; the agent of Alfonso of Aragón in fact. March 18, 1118, AC León, Tumbo,

Although these men are known from other documents, none ever bore the title of count. Pedro Catha Mosca was the Aragonese agent of Alfonso I, Jimeno López was a Riojan of the house of Haro and sometime majordomo of Urraca, and Guter Fernández was a Castilian whom we have met before, if it is he indeed. Pedro Díaz and Pedro Bravólez were of the local Leonese nobility. Their chief duty was the military defense of the city, but no doubt they exercised some judicial and fiscal power within the city as well. Their power was limited to the city and, at most, its immediate environs.[103]

Within the city the castellan was assisted in all of these tasks by that all-purpose official, the merino. Although the merino, like the English sheriff or the French *bailli*, seems originally to have been primarily an administrator of the royal fisc lands, the slight distinction between personal and public administration had inevitably given him public functions as well.[104] We do not know whether he was appointed by the castellan and directly subject to him or an independent appointee directly responsible to the crown. The latter seems more likely, at least in the royal city itself. In any event the question seems moot, for the overlapping of their jurisdic-

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fols. 239v-240r: "turres legionis obtinente." March 29, 1118; AD León, Gradefes, no. 17: "habitante in illas torres in legione." November 20, 1118; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 12r: "de legione." September 26, 1119; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:107-109 app.: "de legione"; this document is a forgery. June 29, 1120; Risco, *ES*, 35:417-421: "majordomus reginae et princeps turrium legionis." February 24, 1123; AD León, Gradefes, no. 20: "tenente torres de legione." June 30, 1124; AC León, no. 1.386: "tenente illis torres." May 30, 1125; AD León, Gradefes, no. 22: "in illas torres de legionem." In this last case, the best reading I can make from the script is "guter f———." It may not have been Guter Fernández, for he was certainly not the castellan in March 1126, when Alfonso Raimúndez had to take the towers by storm on his mother's death. See Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, pp. 6-7 and 10-11.

[103] Estepa Díez, *Estructura social*, pp. 437-440, summarizes these conditions. At least in the early portion of the reign of Alfonso VI the castellan's jurisdiction may have been more extensive outside the city.

[104] García de Valdeavellano, *Instituciones*, pp. 503-504.

tions and the necessity of their cooperation would have made his acceptability to both crown and castellan imperative.

For the city of León there is a fairly regular list of merinos. Diego Sarracínez held the post in 1109 at the outset of the reign, Domingo Rodríguez in 1114, Saturnino Cídez in 1122, Rodrigo Martínez perhaps at the end of 1122, Isidore Nepónez in 1123, and Munio González in 1124.[105] Those who can be positively identified seem to have been members of the minor Leonese nobility.

In the Leonese countryside, royal administration seems to have been alternately in the hands of castellans and of merinos. They appear relatively infrequently in the documents, and it is difficult to make a regular connection between the two offices that would imply an ordinary relationship of subordination of the latter to the former. Thirty-five kilometers south of León on the Río Esla stood the important fortress of Coyanza at Valencia de Don Juan. In 1113 it was in the hands of Fernando Téllez.[106] He appears often in the documents of Urraca, and in 1112 she had granted him and his brother an immunity for a Leonese village.[107] He does not subsequently figure in that particular capacity, however, and we have no notices of other castellans or of any merino in Coyanza.

Fernando Pérez held the castle of San Roman, perhaps San

[105] July 22, 1109; Risco, *ES*, 36:94-96 app.: "villicus regine in legione." 1114; Estepa Díez, *Estructura social*, p. 451: "majorino major in legione." December 13, 1122; Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), 3:53-54: "maiordomus," and Estepa Díez, *Estructura social*, p. 264, who cites him as castellan. December 30, 1122; AHN, Clero, carp. 961, no. 8: "merino in illas torres comes rui martinez." This document, a copy, cites a Bishop Arias of León and so should probably be redated to after 1130. February 24, 1123; AD León, Gradefes, no. 20: "maiorinus in legione." June 30, 1124; AC León, no. 1.386: "maiorino in legione."

[106] April 23, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 9. June 11, 1113; Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías de la provincia de León* (León, 1976), p. 266.

[107] AC León, no. 294.

Roman de la Cuba twenty kilometers southeast of Sahagún, from 1119 to 1125.[108] Both his and the place name are so common that it is difficult to identify either. In any event we have no notices of a merino associated with San Roman. Rodrigo Díaz commanded at Castrotierra de Valduena, twenty kilometers west of Sahagún in 1120 and 1123.[109] There is no mention of a merino there.

Melgar de Arriba, fifteen kilometers south of Sahagún, was in the hands of Rodrigo Martínez from 1120 until apparently as late as July of 1126.[110] In 1113 at least, one Salvador Cídez was merino in Melgar.[111]

Forty-five kilometers farther south, Alfonso Téllez held Montealegre in 1116, while fifteen kilometers northeast of him Tello Fernández held the castle of Mormojón.[112] At neither place is there mention of a merino. In Villalobos, fifty kilometers to the west, Fernandus Menéndez commanded in 1113, but there are no notices of a merino here either.[113]

In the center of the Leonese countryside, around the royal city itself, one Diego Froilaz is mentioned at Cifuentes, on the Río Esla twenty-five kilometers east of León, in 1125. Estepa Díez identifies him as the son of Count Diego Froilaz of Astorga.[114] It is the only notice of a castellan, and again there are no notices of a merino there.

Farther east, in 1113 the castellan of the royal castle at Cea

[108] There are four notices. November 20, 1119 is the earliest; Sánchez Belda, *Cartulario de Santo Toribio*, pp. 167-169. April 30, 1125 is the last; AHN, Clero, carp. 1.740, no. 17.

[109] September 27, 1120; García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 130-131. July 18, 1123; AD León, Gradefes, no. 21.

[110] September 27, 1120; García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 130-131. July 31, 1126; Fernández Martín, "Colección diplomática de Santervás," p. 196.

[111] Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 510.

[112] BN, Manuscritos, 720, fols. 278r-279r.

[113] April 23, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 9. June 11, 1113; Rodríguez Fernández, *Juderías de León*, p. 266.

[114] *Estructura social*, p. 281. May 30, 1125; AD León, Gradefes, no. 22.

above Sahagún, Sancho Yañez, was in rebellion, but he was more likely the appointee of Alfonso of Aragón than of Urraca.[115] When Urraca recovered the stronghold in 1115 she entrusted it to Count Froila Díaz of Astorga, probably on an emergency basis.[116] In 1120 it was held by Guter Peláez, who appears as a confirmant in a few other Urracan documents of the time.[117]

Cea, of course, had a merino from at least 1120 to 1125 in the person of García López.[118] In 1120 his authority appears to have encompassed Grajal as well.[119] Both localities were in the heart of the Leonese fisc lands. García was perhaps related to the Riojan family of Haro, often allied with Urraca against Aragón, for in earlier documents of the realm he is associated with the castle at Marañon, twenty-three kilometers north of Logroño.[120] From Cea in 1115 there is even the name of the *sayon*, an official subordinate to the merino who rarely appears in contemporary documents.[121]

Finally, there was in 1109 and 1110 a merino of San Pelayo, Diego Alvítez, who probably looked after the fisc lands of the *infantado* centered about León.[122] He was a member of the Leonese nobility and appears in five of Urraca's charters before 1119.

East of the lands of León, between the rivers Cea and Pisuerga and north of Palencia in the modern province of

[115] January 23, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 8.

[116] June, 1115; Fernández, *Colección diplomática de Benevivere*, pp. 9-10.

[117] October 1, 1120; AHN, Clero, carp. 894, no. 2.

[118] September 27, 1120; García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 130-131. June 20, 1120; Fernández Martín, "Colección diplomática de Santervás," p. 195: "vilicum in ceia." March 26, 1125; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 516-518.

[119] See note 117.

[120] Lucas Alvárez, "Becerro de Valbanera," pp. 602-603.

[121] "Vermudo Spata sagio"; see note 116.

[122] July 22, 1109; AC León, no. 1002. September 10, 1109; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 103v. February 18, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 3427, no. 6. December 24, 1110; ASI, no. 135. For a description of this infantado see García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 113-116.

Palencia, the organization of government seems to have been similar, although we have even fewer notices of it. As we have already seen, the center of these territories as far west as Carrión and, until 1115, sometimes even to Sahagún was in the effective control of Alfonso of Aragón. From the period before the rupture of Urraca and Alfonso's marriage there are notices of two merinos in Carrión. The first of them, Martín Ordóñez, served in 1109.[123] He confirmed four of Urraca's charters between 1110 and 1113 and was probably a minor Leonese noble. The second, in 1110, was Gonzalo Ansúrez, presumably the brother of Count Pedro Ansúrez.[124] His appearance in this capacity marks the period when Pedro Ansúrez had negotiated the marriage and had been restored to favor in León. But by the end of the year the struggle between the spouses had begun and Carrión was soon lost to Urraca. In the same area one Salvador Cídez appears as *merino mayor* at Melgar de Fernamental in 1113, but this was an ephemeral product of Urraca's briefly successful campaign in that year.[125]

As already mentioned, from his countship in Castilla south of the line from Burgos through Castrojeriz to Carrión, Count Pedro González's authority seems to have extended far west and we have no notices of royal castellans or merinos from his territories. North of that line Count Pedro Ansúrez held a less extensive county around Saldaña, which disappeared at his death, however. Thereafter, as noted earlier, a royal castellan presided there.

In the northern reaches of this territory a single document of the monastery of San Toribio, dated November 1, 1125, reveals a number of individuals in command. Diego Fernández held Cereseda, which lies in the modern province of Asturias, as does the monastery itself. Fernando Pérez held Mudabe and Cernera on the upper reaches of the Pisuerga,

[123] July 22, 1109; ACL, no. 1002. September 10, 1109; AC León, Tumbo, fol. 103v.

[124] June 6, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 4.

[125] January 23, 1113; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 8.

and Pedro González held Villaescusa de Ecla and San Martín in the same region.[126] Diego Fernández may be the person of that name who was majordomo of Alfonso VI in the period 1103 to 1105. Fernando Pérez and Pedro González are impossible to identify further, and the latter seems surely not to be Pedro González of Lara. I have found no notices of royal merinos in this region, which perhaps indicates a dearth of fisc land there.

In the lands of Astorga and Bierzo, often so crucial to Urraca, Froila Díaz held the countship from the reign of Alfonso VI until his own death in 1119. During this period there are few notices of royal castellans there. A passing reference in the "Historia Compostelana" mentions a Nezano Gudestéiz holding the castle of Autares, in the territory of Villafranca del Bierzo, in 1113.[127] The most important exception, however, is Juan Pérez, who held Cabrera in January of 1117, the castle of Ulver in 1118 and 1122, and seems to have controlled most of the Bierzo from 1119 to 1123.[128]

Juan Pérez cannot be positively identified further, but someone of that name confirmed two of Urraca's charters in 1120. Given that no count was appointed for the territory of Astorga after the death of Froila Díaz in 1119, there may have been here the same tendency to prefer to rule through more subordinate officials as operated in Asturias, León, and northern Palencia. One Guter Eriz also appeared dominating Aguilar de Lastro in 1123.[129] Still, the record is not entirely clear, and perhaps the move was contested, for Froila Díaz's

[126] Sánchez Belda, *Cartulario de Santo Toribio*, pp. 127-128.

[127] Flórez, *ES*, 20:170.

[128] January 6, 1117; Quintana Prieto, *Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes*, pp. 224-225: "potestas in Cabrera." May 15, 1118; ibid., pp. 225-226: "tenente Ulver." April 10, 1122; ibid., pp. 226-227: "dominante terra de Ulver." April 29, 1119; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 40r: "gubernando la Rivera con la Cabrera." July 8, 1119; ibid., fol. 213v: "gobern. Juan Petriz in Burbia." February 20, 1123; ibid., fol. 214r: "ten en gob. la tierra de Somoza."

[129] Quintana Prieto, *Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes*, pp. 227-229.

son, Ramiro Froilaz, is given as holding the castles of Ulver and Cabrera in 1122 and the Bierzo in 1123 and 1124.[130]

But royal control was traditionally strong in this region, with the crown keeping close control of the bishopric of Astorga, and royal fisc lands were widespread, especially in Bierzo.[131] Royal merinos are well documented back into the reign of Alfonso VI. For that of Urraca herself we find Jimeno Díaz around Palacios del Sil in 1115, and two years later he is said to hold Astorga.[132] In 1117 Fructuoso Cídez was merino in Cabrera, although it is unclear whether the reference is to a royal or private official.[133] Michael Mondeyro is merino in Benizo in 1122, Martín Pérez in Ulver the same year, and Pedro Otauzino in Iorres in 1123.[134] The phrasing of most of these references suggests the regular subordination of the merino to the castellan.

Galicia was, as noted earlier, the territory of the most fully developed countship. Its six counties seem to have encompassed nearly the entire land mass of the province, with the notable exception of the honor of the bishop of Santiago between the Ulla and Tambre. The royal fisc lands were also extensive there. Surviving documents suggest that royal administration was adapted to these two facts.

Although six royal castles are identifiable in the province during the reign of Urraca, the name of only one castellan survives. This is Juan Díaz, who held the castle of Orzilione, fifteen kilometers northwest of Orense, in 1121 and that of

[130] March 6, 1122; ibid., pp. 230-231: "imperante castello de Ulver Ramiro Froilaz. In simul terra de Cabrezra cum suo castello et majorinus ejus in eadem terra Menendo Pelaez." 1123; BN, Manuscritos, 4,357, fol. 199r: "ten. Bierzo." September 13, 1124; ibid., fol. 214: "en urbia Ramiro Froilaz."

[131] García Calles, *Doña Sancha*, pp. 116-117.

[132] January 7, 1115; BN, Manuscritos, 4.357, fol. 208r: "en tierra de Palacios." October 1, 1117; ibid., fols. 191v-192r: "imp. in Astorga."

[133] January 7, 1117; Quintana Prieto, *Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes*, pp. 224-225: "potestas in Cabrera Johanne Petriz suo majorino Fructuoso Cidiz."

[134] March 6, 1122; ibid., pp. 230-231. April 10, 1122; ibid., pp. 226-227. December 12, 1123; ibid., pp. 227-229.

Cira, twenty kilometers southeast of Santiago de Compostela, in 1126.[135] He seems to have been faithful aide of Urraca, confirming five of her charters between 1116 and 1123, and a determined opponent of Bishop Gelmírez.

It may be that the names of the castellans of the other five royal castles are simply as yet unknown to us, or possibly the castles were instead in the hands of the royal merinos there who looked after the fisc surrounding them. In 1116 a Muño Peláez was merino in Lobeira, site of a castle and extensive fisc lands.[136] He is certainly to be distinguished from the Count in Monteroso of the same name.

Diego Mauréliz was merino in Sobrado in the extreme upper reaches of the Tambre in 1109.[137] His identity is otherwise unknown. In 1120 Pelayo Garcíaz is mentioned as merino in Sarria of both the queen and Count Rodrigo Vélaz.[138] He seems to have been a local figure. A Juan Martínez confirmed Urraca's charter to Count Pedro Froilaz in May 1112 as "maiorinus regine," but there is no territorial specification.[139] He seems not otherwise to appear in the documents. Finally, Andulfus Oduárez confirms a private document of Bishop Gelmírez on April 15, 1115 as merino of Iria Flavia, but he may have been an episcopal rather than a royal official.[140]

For Asturias the royal castellans have already been examined in one connection or another. The office of merino there seems so tied to the city of Oviedo itself that it is best treated in the next chapter. In old Castilla proper there is no evidence of which I am aware that royal merinos functioned in the lands of the two counts of Lara.

[135] May 23, 1121; AHN, Códices, 424B, fols. 650v-651r. 1126; Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:435-440.

[136] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.857, no. 13.

[137] Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos de Sobrado*, 1:184-185.

[138] AHN, Clero, carp. 1.240, no. 8: "eiusdem regine et comitis roderici eo tempore maiorinus in sarria."

[139] López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:81-83 app.

[140] Ibid., pp. 102-103 app.

This survey of local administration in the realm of Urraca, outside the cities, reveals three broad, rather different patterns. None of them is completely regular or absolutely consistent over the entire seventeen years of her reign. Nevertheless, the differences are sufficiently substantial and consistent to justify our regarding them as conscious attempts on the part of the crown to adapt to historical opportunities and political necessities and to pursue a set of distinct royal policies. These policies were designed to make royal governance effective within pragmatic parameters and to increase its local effectiveness when the chance offered. None of these policies is new; they had already become traditional and dated back at least to the reign of Alfonso VI.

The first pattern characterizes the new, frontier lands of the trans-Duero, including the even newer realm of the former taifa of Toledo. There the institution of countship had not taken root. Royal fisc lands were vast but comparatively empty, so that their organization under even royal merinos seems not to have begun. The assertion of royal authority rested on the allegiance of three powers. One of these was the adherence of frontier magnates such as Alvar Fáñez and Fernández Garciaz of Hita, based on personal and family relationships to the crown. The reign of Alfonso Raimúndez there after November 1117 is at once an extension and transformation of this policy. The second was the support of the bishops, first secured by Alfonso VI with the provision of Bernard at Toledo in 1085 and Jerome at Zamora in 1102. Urraca was to establish Bernard of Perigord at Zamora about 1120, Pedro at Segovia in 1120, Sancho at Ávila in 1121, and Bernard of Agen at Sigüenza in 1121 or 1122. Finally, royal control depended on the loyalty of the fortress towns of the region, each with its alfoz extending far into the surrounding countryside and often undefined to the south, largely self-governing under its royal fuero.

The second pattern of royal administration is observable in the widely separated border regions of Castilla and Galicia. In these lands royal government was comital govern-

ment. Royal castellans or merinos are sometimes in evidence, but the power resides in the count. Urraca's authority and influence in Castilla were maintained by her liaison with Pedro González de Lara and the marriage of her half sister Sancha to Pedro's brother, Count Rodrigo González. At Burgos in February 1117 a delicate balance was struck with Aragón that allowed her government, through the Laras, to function in a large part of Castilla until 1126. But the humbling of the Lara counts and the expulsion of the Aragonese were to become the first task of her son, Alfonso VII.

In Galicia, just because the countship was so pervasive, the problems it posed for royal government were somewhat less critical. Count Pedro Froilaz of the house of Trastamara was able to put himself at the head of the party of her heir and possible supplanter, Alfonso Raimúndez, to ally himself by turns with Teresa of Portugal and Bishop Gelmírez, and to contract marriage alliances with three other counts in Galicia. Nonetheless, his own county was small and poor, his allies fickle, and Urraca had the superior bargaining power inherent in the possession of the crown. Pedro Froilaz ended in prison. Beyond her ability to play the counts of Galicia off against one another, Urraca continued in direct control of a considerable network of castles and extensive fisc lands that made her a Galician magnate of major importance in her own right.

There were, then, no feudal princes in the realm of Urraca. In Castilla and in Galicia the count was the most important governmental figure but neither of those great provinces was consolidated under a single count. In the trans-Duero, perhaps not entirely by simple inadvertence, a county did not exist. In the third great administrative division of the realm, its heart of León, Asturias, Astorga, and Palencia, the countship was relegated to the past as the occasion offered.

The exile of Count Pedro Ansúrez in 1103 was reversed by the precarious circumstances of Urraca's accession, but after his death about 1118 the county of Simancas and Ca-

bezón disappeared from the documents of the reign. So did his county of Saldaña in the province of Palencia, although the settlement with Aragón in 1117 had forced Urraca to recognize his old countship of Carrión in new hands. In Asturias de Oviedo, the countship had disappeared late in the reign of her father, and although Gonzalo Peláez was certainly an instrument of Urraca's policy there, she never made him count. Nevertheless his position became hegemonic there, and Urraca was forced about 1120 to extend the comital power of Suero Vermúdez into the western portion of the old province around Tineo.

In Astorga it seems that the countship was left vacant after the death of Froila Díaz in 1119. Finally, in the province of León the countship of Simancas and Cabezón disappears after 1118 and Suero Vermúdez's county of Luna is limited to the extreme north, although it seems to have been growing toward both the north and east at the very end of the reign.

All in all, the documents strongly suggest that the preferred instruments of royal administration in this central portion of the realm were the less exalted figures of the castellan and the merino. These were drawn from noble houses of somewhat lesser rank and their jurisdiction was more limited. Despite the traditional belief that counts in the kingdom of León-Castilla were officials removable at the royal pleasure,[141] the evidence from the reign of Urraca indicates that inheritance of the title had been usual and that it was likely to be terminated only by death. Urraca inherited most of her counts from the reign of her father. They were therefore likely to be somewhat too independent for the purposes of royal administration.

[141] Because the mass of documentation from the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been so little studied, institutional historians have focused on the Asturian kingdom of the ninth and tenth centuries, where the texts are fewer and more easily digested, or on the thirteenth century, whose legal texts provide a usable guide. Such a process tends inevitably to exaggerate royal authority.

At the same time, the evidence is too scant to infer that the term "mandante" indicates a public, official relationship and the term "tenante" a private, feudal one.[142] In the documents of the period "imperante," "mandante," and "tenante" are used interchangeably. Certainly, as the oaths and pacts of Urraca and Gelmírez set out so clearly in the "Historia Compostelana" reveal, the realm was feudal if feudalism means that public and private jurisdictions were often confused and that private agreements often secured what public law could not. But the observed terminology will not support the generalization that "tenante" indicates an invariable, new, and vassal arrangement.

For this reason I have chosen to call this group of administrators of territorially more restricted jurisdictions "castellans." More than anything else, it seems to me, their essential characteristics were precisely their lesser social rank and their more limited territorial authority. Their combination of military responsibility, civil jurisdiction, and personal prestige seems to have mirrored, on a lesser scale, that of the counts themselves.

As to the merinos, it cannot be satisfactorily determined whether their appointment lay with the crown, the counts, or the castellans. As they can be perceived to function, they seem often to be subordinate to all three. It is certainly going too far to assert that they governed definite territorial jurisdictions, distinct from and replacing the counties as the ordinary units of royal government.[143] More likely, to judge by the locations in which they ordinarily appear, they were still primarily officials charged with the supervision of lands of the fisc although certain public functions would be, and would need to be, joined to that responsibility with regard to adjoining districts. The origin of the later organization of

[142] See the discussion in García de Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, p. 506.

[143] García de Cortázar, *La época medieval*, pp. 299-300. Atanasio Sinués Ruiz, *El merino* (Saragossa, 1954), studied the office but treats it as almost a static institution between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

merindades certainly lies here, but the term itself is unknown in the documents of Urraca's time.

This survey of local royal administration during the reign of Urraca has been in large measure detached from a consideration of the relationship between the towns and the crown. But the towns were of vital importance to any monarch of the period. They experienced a burgeoning growth accompanied by an increasing restiveness and even by spectacular revolts at Sahagún and Santiago de Compostela. The means by which the royal government controlled and regulated the towns must be considered next in the context of what has been said above.

ELEVEN

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOWNS

IN ANY consideration of the character, and the necessarily related matter of the government, of the towns of León-Castilla during this period it is customary to distinguish between those of the trans-Duero region and those of the older, more settled parts of the realm. The former, which will be considered first in this chapter, are usually described as essentially frontier fortresses whose populations were mainly dependent on stockraising and to a lesser extent on local agriculture. Such commercial development as they displayed was secondary at best and often in the hands of minorities of Jews and Muslims.[1]

The government of these towns is also described as distinctive. We have already seen in the preceding chapter the dearth of evidence for the ordinary officialdom of territorial government such as is found north of the Duero. There are no counts discernible, nor castellans, nor, except at Toledo and Salamanca, bishops until they begin to be provided late in the reign. Instead, for the most part, the government of the towns constituted the territorial government too, as the alfoz, or surrounding countryside subject to it, stretched out almost endlessly into the meseta. This town government is regarded as unique, with the town council, under the crown, and its officers as the central instrument of political authority.[2]

This general description, as it pertains to the reign of Urraca, needs substantial modification. The difficulty is with its details, which more recent scholarship has called increasingly

[1] Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España de los orígines a la baja Edad Media*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1955), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 190. See also José Luis Martín, *La peninsula en la Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1976), p. 370.

[2] Martín, *Peninsula*, p. 371.

into question. These details have been elaborated largely by close textual analysis of the surviving fueros, or charters, of the towns, an attractive, indeed almost irresistible process, for the fueros address the subject of government fairly directly rather than incidentally or obliquely as do the private and ecclesiastical documents. In addition, the latter have often been inaccessible even when preserved. Generally speaking, private documents of the eleventh and first quarter of the twelfth century are scant for the trans-Duero region.

Still, it has been a long time since it was pointed out that originally the fueros were never complete law codes, that they grew by accretion and deletion according to political and legal necessity, and that the texts that remain are late ones with a tangled manuscript tradition.[3] The full implications of these facts, however, have only rather recently begun to be demonstrated in a series of intensive studies of the fueros of Medinaceli, León, Sahagún, and Toledo.[4] The result is that major dating problems confront almost every particular provision in the fueros, and thus the question of the development of town government institutions simply cannot

[3] Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, "Origen del régimen municipal en León y Castilla," *Obras*, ed. Alfonso Garcia-Gallo (Madrid, 1974), 3:290-293, published initially in *La administración: Revista internacional de administración, derecho, economía, hacienda, y política* 28 (1896):417-438.

[4] Alfonso García-Gallo, "Los fueros de Medinaceli," *AHDE* 31 (1961):9-16, and idem, "El fuero de León," *AHDE* 39 (1969):5-171. The latter article was the subject of an impassioned rebuttal by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "El fuero de León," *León y su historia* 2 (1973):11-60, who argued that the archaic language of many of the provisions of the fuero of León demonstrated the integrity of its transmission from the early eleventh century. It seems to me that not even Sánchez-Albornoz would hold that the fuero was absolutely without interpolations, that he ignores García-Gallo's observations about its diplomatic form, and that only the use of archaic language in every section would preserve the fuero from doubts as to the date of any given provision.

Even more recently, the same analysis has been applied by Ana María Barrero García, "Los fueros de Sahagún," *AHDE* 42 (1972):385-597, and again by Alfonso García-Gallo, "Los fueros de Toledo," *AHDE* 45 (1975):341-458.

rely, for chronological purposes, on examination of them alone. For this reason, the attempt to detail here as much as possible of town government in the trans-Duero during the reign of Urraca relies principally on the documents of the time, with attention to the fueros themselves only when they clarify conditions.

The survey begins with Toledo because of its transcendent position as the old Visigothic capital. The city was almost unique among the towns of the region, however, for it had a long-established bishopric that exercised the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the times. In addition, Archbishop Bernard enjoyed the prestige of a long and close association with the crown in the person of Alfonso VI, then with his daughter Urraca, and finally with her son Alfonso Raimúndez. When present in the city he must have been the chief royal officer there in fact if not in title. His secular influence would have also been bolstered, as was that of any bishop ordinarily, by the likelihood that he was, as bishop, the single largest landholder inside and outside the town after the crown itself.[5] Because considerable portions of that property were likely to be held as *cotos*, or immunities, he wielded secular authority within their confines as well.

Until the death of Alvar Fáñez in the spring of 1114, this powerful and able noble would have had the ultimate disposition of the military forces of the city, and for three years afterward the influence of Alfonso of Aragón seems to have prevailed in the city and region.[6] But after Alfonso Raimúndez entered the city in the late fall of 1117, the "Anales toledanos" credits Archbishop Bernard with the leadership of their forces in 1118.[7] It is likely that, in the name of the king, he was thereafter the ordinary leader of the Toledan host, as were so many archbishops of that city subsequently.

So far as the internal government of Toledo is concerned,

[5] Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid. 1975), 1:110-117.

[6] Ibid., pp. 105-108.

[7] Ibid., p. 134.

the archbishop does not appear explicitly as either its señor or royal governor, in any document known to me. Nor does it appear from any document of Alfonso VI or Urraca that the city was governed by a council, or concejo. Perhaps no single council could have coped with the affairs of the variegated communities of Muslims, Jews, Mozárabes, Castilians, and French that composed Toledo's population. Of these, the Mozárabes and the Castilians had their own fueros, guaranteed by royal charter. Whether all did we simply do not know.[8] The single fuero for all the inhabitants supposedly issued by Alfonso Raimúndez on November 16, 1118 is a later production from a private source that imitates chancery norms of a variety of periods.[9]

It is likely that civil authority in the city was subdivided among a variety of royal officials of whom the archbishop may have been one. There is good evidence late in the reign of Alfonso VI for a "princeps toletane militia," and this officer perhaps also wielded civil authority.[10] This title does not appear during the reign of Urraca but it is certainly the dignity held by Alvar Fáñez down to 1114.

That the crown held a number of palaces in Toledo and its immediate environs is well known.[11] These would normally have been under the care of a royal merino, who might well have had civil jurisdiction as was the case almost everywhere. Such was certainly the case in the reign of Alfonso VI, for there is evidence of the position of "Toletanorum populi iudex atque prepositus," and "prepositus" is often a synonym for "merino."[12] But no such term appears for the reign of Urraca.

[8] García-Gallo, "Fueros de Toledo," pp. 346 and 408-427.

[9] Ibid., pp. 351-360.

[10] March 19, 1101; published in García-Gallo, "Fueros de Toledo," pp. 459-461, a charter of Alfonso VI. June 22, 1103; AHN, Sección de Códices, 987B, fol. 14, also a royal charter. May 8, 1107; AHN, Códices, 987B, fols. 51v-52r, a royal charter.

[11] González, *Repoblación*, 1:110.

[12] March 19, 1101 and June 22, 1103; see note 10.

The most prominent official in Toledo during the latter's reign is the alcalde. Two documents show that one Ramiro Froilaz held that position in 1123 and 1124.[13] González Palencia identified no less than seven individuals who were alcaldes between 1114 and 1125, although some of these may have had jurisdiction solely among the Mozárabic community in Toledo.[14] In 1115 it appears from a private document that the Castilians in Toledo had their own judge.[15] But the usage, borrowed from Islam, of the term *Zahlmedina* as the equivalent of "alcalde" during the reigns both of Alfonso VI and of Urraca, strengthens the belief that the city had one *justiciar* whose authority was citywide and superior.[16]

In fact we shall probably not be far from the mark if we posit that the city had one royal alcalde, or judge, and five other alcaldes, one for each of the five major communities of the town, and that the jurisdiction of the former began where the rights of the crown or intercommunity concerns were involved. It is certain that each group of inhabitants had its own legal usages and customs, whether or not guaranteed by formal royal fuero, but some provision was needed for affairs that transcended their particular interests. It seems

[13] November 29, 1123; AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 10: "urbis alcaldus." November 30, 1123; ibid., fol. 11: "toletanus alcaidus."

[14] *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos* XII *y* XIII (Madrid, 1930), introductory volume, pp. 218-219. For a useful discussion of the terms *alcalde* and *juez* see Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de las instituciones españolas* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 544-545, and, in more detail, Nilda Guglielmi, "La figura de juez en el concejo," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), 2:1003-24. But the extent to which distinctions made in later law and fueros can be projected back to early twelfth-century usage of these terms is problematic, to say the least.

[15] March 1115; AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 99r: "iudex castellanus martino garciaz."

[16] February 13, 1099; AHN, Códices, 987B, fols. 13v-14r: "Johannes zahalmedina de toleto cf." This charter of Alfonso VI is dated in the chartulary to 1095 but is really four years later. May 8, 1107; see note 10: "Fernando alfonso zarb al midinae cf." March 1115; see note 15: "alcalde Johannus casalmedina" November 29 and 30, 1123; see note 13. Both mention in the text "si alcadius si zahlmedina. . . . "

equally likely that all these judges were appointed by the crown, although the advice of Archbishop Bernard would have been sought and perhaps also usually determined the result. In the selection of an alcalde for one of the particular groups, some advice would probably have been solicited from its members simply as a practical device.

There is also some indication that the major towns of what may be roughly styled the alfoz of Toledo had their own alcaldes. Madrid did in 1123.[17] One is cited for Oreja in 1115.[18] Finally, Talavera de la Reina seems to have had an alcalde in 1118.[19] Again, these officials were probably chosen by the crown on the advice of the archbishop of Toledo and the local communities. Given the conditions of the age, virtually all such officials must have been selected from the most important men of the local community, who would often have had to support their authority with their own resources because the ability of the crown to assist them was so limited in the trans-Duero.

If the sources for Toledo are scant, those for the episcopal cities of Ávila and Salamanca are virtually nonexistent. Both were repopulated by Urraca's first husband, Count Raymond, about 1100, but Ávila is invisible in the documents until its bishop appears in 1121. The earliest records of the cathedral there begin only with the reign of Alfonso VII, and the chronicle of the city is late and the early material in it legendary.[20]

[17] November 29, 1123; see note 13: "Menendus Bofinus regie economus et de maierit alcaidus cf."

[18] March 1115; see note 15: "alcaite aurelia Genesius."

[19] November 20, 1118; AHN, Códices, 987B: "Gomez Nunez alcayt de talavera cf." This charter of Alfonso Raimúndez is dated to 1128 in the chartulary, but the confirmation also of Bishops Jerome of Salamanca and Raymond of Osma makes 1118 the better date.

[20] Amparo Hernández Segura, *Crónica de la población de Ávila* (Valencia, 1966), has edited the text of this thirteenth-century romance. Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, 2 vols. (1637; reprint, Segovia, 1969-70), 1:214-215, treated much of this material as historical in his seventeenth-century work. Enrique Ballesteros, *Estudio histórico de Ávila y*

The bishops of Salamanca are well recorded for the reign of Urraca, appearing in some twenty-seven documents. Urraca, however, made no surviving grant to Salamanca, which lay in an area contested with her half sister Teresa of Portugal. The cathedral archives of that town contain only five documents from the period prior to March 1126, and the fuero of Salamanca, in the form in which it survives, is a much later product.[21]

From the charter of Count Raymond of Burgundy to Bishop Jerome of Salamanca in 1102 it appears that the city was then a señorial town.[22] That is, it was subject to the authority of Raymond along with Ávila and Zamora in a virtual appanage of the crown that stretched from the Bay of Biscay and Galicia down to the Guadarramas. Purportedly, at the death of Raymond in 1107 Salamanca and Zamora passed into the control of Bishop Jerome in secular as in ecclesiastical affairs, but there is good reason to suspect the charter of Alfonso VI that informs us of the grant.[23]

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su territorio (Ávila, 1896), pp. 100-136 and 223-226, still did in the late nineteenth. A single document of 1103, published in Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Millán de La Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 294-295, portrays the men of Ávila acting as a group. Julio González, "La Extremadura castellana al mediar el siglo XIII," *Hispania* 127 (1974): 300-301, accepts it as evidence of a concejo there.

[21] Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, ed., *Catálogo de documentos del archivo cathedralico de Salamanca, siglos* XII-XV (Salamanca, 1962), pp. 9-10. Américo Castro and Federico de Onís, eds., *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma, y Alba de Tormes* (Madrid, 1916). The last of these texts dates from the reign of Alfonso VII and the others are even later. Rafael Gibert, "El derecho municipal de León y Castilla." *AHDE* 31 (1961):706, dates the fuero of Salamanca to Alfonso VI but is simply wrong.

[22] June 22, 1102; AC Salamanca, cajón 6, legajo 1, no. 5. The count was certainly disposing of ordinarily royal revenues: "Damus vobis ex omni tertia parte salamantine civitatis census. . . ."

[23] December 30, 1107; AE Salamanca, no. 1, and AC Salamanca, cajón 16, legajo 1, no. 30. None of these are originals, and some interpolation is obvious. Alfonso himself is twice referred to as of "sanctae memoriae" and Maurice, then bishop of Coimbra, confirms as archbishop of Braga. Even if the text were accepted, it would be difficult to read it as conferring full secular authority in Salamanca, although it would doubtless have done so in Zamora.

During the early part of the civil war in the reign of Urraca, between late 1109 and 1112, Count Henry of Portugal seems to have controlled Salamanca and Zamora. After his death in April 1112 his widow, Teresa, certainly contested the area with Urraca. When Alfonso Raimúndez was installed in Toledo in December 1117 with his mother's blessing, control of Salamanca also passed to the young king.

The authority of any of these successive sovereigns in the city may have been either direct or indirect. We simply do not know whether they did indeed establish señorial power of the bishop there, ruled through a more immediate creature of the crown, or transferred the "honor" to a secular señor. There is a tradition that the last of these options prevailed but no hard evidence.[24] The few relevant documents extant mention neither concejo nor alcaldes, so we remain ignorant also of the sort of subordinate instrumentalities that must have been employed.

Zamora, though just north of the Duero and thus technically within the old kingdom of León, obviously shared a common history with Ávila and Salamanca. Its development during the reign of Urraca is similarly obscure. Before the death of Bishop Jerome of Salamanca in 1120 it was an ecclesiastical dependency of that city.[25] In regard to secular authority there, what has been said above of Salamanca can be applied equally to Zamora until 1117, when we find a royal castellan of Urraca in Zamora.[26] Given the frontier status of the town it seems unlikely that civil and judicial authority were separated from military authority. There are, however, no subsequent notices of a royal castellan in Zamora during the reign of Urraca. Yet the city remained under her ultimate control.

Once again, the problem of determining how the city was governed is a result of the scarcity of surviving records. With a few exceptions, the documents of Zamora begin in the reign

[24] See ch. 10, note 96.
[25] See ch. 8, note 67.
[26] See ch. 10, note 90.

of Alfonso VII.[27] As early as 1094, Count Raymond of Burgundy had granted a so-called fuero to the nobles of a suburb of Zamora, but it takes the form of a series of personal exemptions rather than of a municipal charter. Although mention is made of a merino, a vicar, and judges, it is impossible to tell whether these are comital or local officials, rural or urban.[28]

The next notice of city affairs comes in 1124, when Urraca ceded to Bishop Bernard of Zamora a tenth of the royal revenues there.[29] The implication seems plain that the city was under direct royal control and that no señor, secular or ecclesiastical, intervened. Again no concejo or alcalde is mentioned. This status continued into the reign of Alfonso VII, for in 1132 he made a similar grant and exempted the clergy of Zamora from all lay jurisdiction.[30] There is still no mention of subordinate officials of any sort nor of a council even though the town was prosperous enough to be the site of a royal mint and of a toll station. There was a famous royal castle in Zamora, and the likelihood is that its castellan governed the town, with the informal cooperation of Bishop Bernard from 1120.

Deep in the central trans-Duero, just twenty-five kilometers north of the Somosierra pass over the Guadarramas, is Sepúlveda. For more than a century before the fall of Toledo

[27] There is as yet no printed catalog of its cathedral archive, which is also very difficult of access. In consequence, recourse is to the microfilm copies of the cathedral documents in the collection of the Archivo Histórico Nacional.

[28] See ch. 1, note 36. Gibert, "El derecho municipal," p. 705, believes Zamora had a fuero from at least 1062 from a reference in a charter of Fernando I of that date. The reference may as easily be to the "customs" of the city as to a formal document, however. On the other hand, his appeal to a more precise reference in a charter of Alfonso VII, dated February 2, 1129, suffers the problem that the particular provision is in old Spanish rather than Latin.

[29] See ch. 9, note 60.

[30] September 2, 1132; AC Zamora, legajo 8, no. 8, and Tumbo negro, fol. 20.

in 1085 it had been the advance post of the Christian Reconquista. Its famous fuero of Alfonso VI, dated November 17, 1076, has also been the subject of the most intensive study, and Sepúlveda has been the linchpin for elaboration of the theory of town government as practiced beyond the Duero from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.[31]

The town had no bishop. Surviving documents tell us that Alfonso VI granted land in the area to the Castilian monastery of Silos in 1076.[32] It certainly had a royal castle, but information about their castellans is scant. The castle was held by one Diego Téllez, a merino, about 1086.[33] In 1122 it was in the hands of Jimeno Jiménez, who held it for Alfonso of Aragón.[34] These three notices are the only ones that survive before well into the reign of Alfonso VII except for the fuero itself.

The earliest copy of the fuero that survives is a product of the latter twelfth century.[35] It bears also the confirmation of Alfonso of Aragón and of Urraca, which could have been done only in 1110. Bearing in mind that the documents of Alfonso VI have not been edited or even studied in any systematic way, it seems to me that the copyist had before him at least one genuine document of Alfonso VI. The initial protocol, for example, is familiar, as is the final subscription of Alfonso. The presence of Queen Agnes, whose history is otherwise not well known, is reassuring, as is the subsequent

[31] Emilio Sáez et al., *Los fueros de Sepúlveda* (Segovia, 1953). Not only the fuero of Alfonso VI but also its diffusion, refoundation, and translation into the Romance are treated. The work elaborates not only a picture of town government but also an argument for the distinctive origins of Castilian as against Leonese law. It is also the foundation for tracing Castilian movement southwest into the trans-Duero.

[32] August 20, 1076; Emilio Sáez, ed., *Colección diplomática de Sepúlveda* (Segovia, 1956), pp. 3-7.

[33] 1086; ibid., pp. 10-11: "senior Didaco Telliz dominante Septempublica."

[34] 1122; ibid., pp. 11-12: "Senior Enneco Simeonis dominas Secobie et Septem publice et toti Stremature."

[35] November 17, 1076; Sáez et al., *Fueros de Sepúlveda*, pp. 45-51.

confirmation by both Alfonso of Aragón and Urraca of Castilla. The confirmation by either separately would have had more authority in the late twelfth century.

Nevertheless, some diplomatic aspects of the copy are troubling. The various elements of the charter are not in the usual order. The signatories to it witness rather than confirm, which latter is usual. Should these departures be credited to scribal liberties and "improvements," or is something more serious indicated? There is at least one clear evidence that more than one document is being employed to make the copy: in the third section, Alfonso again appears in the nominative to grant specific boundaries to the men of Sepúlveda. This section is separately witnessed by four different nobles.[36] Diplomatically such a practice is without precedent.

The possibility of interpolation thus cannot be ruled out and I am inclined tentatively to believe that, rather, it is indicated. The document as we have it, then, testifies to a real royal recognition of the fueros of Sepúlveda by Alfonso VI in 1076 and the subsequent confirmation of his action by Alfonso of Aragón and Urraca in 1110. But the probability of the interpolation of the original charter raises major problems in the dating of substantive elements. For our purposes, it means that the town may have been governed by a concejo, with its own proper officers in the alcaldes, judges, and *sayones*, as early as Alfonso VI or as late as the latter twelfth century. The total evidence for the period of Urraca suggests that the men of the towns of the meseta beyond the Duero enjoyed a substantial amount of practical autonomy. But the question whether, during the reign of Urraca, the crown had formally recognized the *auctoritas* as well as the *potestas* of the town seems for now to remain open.

Fifty kilometers southwest of Sepúlveda is the city of Segovia. Like the former, Segovia is located just north of another pass through the Guadarramas, called Navacerrada. Alone among the cities of the trans-Duero, to our knowl-

[36] Ibid., p. 46.

edge, Segovia twice rebelled against the authority of Urraca. The first rising occurred in the spring of 1114 and resulted in the death of Alvar Fáñez and the transfer of allegiance to Aragón. The second came in the early summer of 1118 when Urraca herself was in the city during a campaign to oust Aragonese authority in the trans-Duero. The restoration of the episcopate there in 1120 was at least in part due to Urraca's need to bolster her authority in Segovia. Even so, as late as December 1122 Alfonso of Aragón issued a charter of donation to its bishop.

For our purposes the charter is particularly important, for it gives notice of a concejo functioning in the city with legal authority at least to convey land.[37] But again, except for this useful bit of information, the record of the times is quite scant. No earlier royal grants to Segovia are known. Given the geographic position of the town, it is most likely that there was a royal or señorial castle there on the site of the present, much later, royal palace. Military authority was probably in the hands of its castellan, but he had at least to share civil jurisdiction with the concejo and between 1114 and 1118 may have been driven out and replaced by a delegate of the revolutionary town. In 1122 he was again replaced by Jimeno Jiménez, castellan of Alfonso of Aragón.[38] In 1123 Urraca's first and only charter to the church of Segovia confirmed the grant made by the town council to its bishop but makes no mention of any town or royal officials there.[39] It seems probable, therefore, that a town council continued to be recognized by the crown in Segovia, al-

[37] See ch. 8, note 55: "Dono et omnibus confirmo illam haereditatem quam dedit concilium de Segovia Deo et Sanctate Marie et supradicto episcopo. . . . " Colmenares, *Historia de Segovia*, 1:217-218, printed an undated document of the cathedral archives that portrays the concejo making a much wider grant. He dated it to 1115, but Bishop Peter was not consecrated until 1120 and the language is very precocious for the time. I suspect it is a subsequent elaboration departing from Alfonso's charter.

[38] See note 34.

[39] See ch. 5, note 77 for this and the identical charter of Alfonso Raimúndez: "Hereditatem quoque quam dedit ei conssilium de Secovia. . . . "

though its powers would now have been confined by the presence of a bishop from 1120 and a restored royal castellan from as early as 1118.

Some fifty kilometers north of Segovia, in the señorial town of Cuéllar, there is notice of a document of 1110 in which Count Pedro Ansúrez made a donation of land jointly with the council of that town.[40] If it can be credited, we have at least two instances of town councils in the trans-Duero during Urraca's reign regardless of the problems of the fueros as texts.

Two other cities of the region deserve brief mention. The fortress town of Sigüenza, at the eastern end of the Guadarramas astride the old road from Zaragoza to Toledo, fell to Urraca in January of 1124. Of her provisions for its life as a Christian town, we have only her charter to its bishop. She gave him a tenth of the tolls and the proceeds of the *alcabala* in Atienza and Medinaceli, captured about the same time.[41] The implication is that Sigüenza was a royal town. Later in the same year, in a diploma of Alfonso Raimúndez, the picture becomes clearer. The young king added to the revenues of Sigüenza's bishop and spelled out the process by which they would be provided him. Therein it becomes clear that the king would have both a royal alcalde and a royal merino in the city.[42] But there is no mention of a concejo.

As for Medinaceli, it apparently had been given a fuero by Alfonso VI after he had reconquered it from the Murābits in 1104. Sometime after the Christian rout at Uclés in 1108 the city had been regained by the Muslim and passed again into the power of Urraca only in 1124. The fuero, sometimes attributed to Alfonso of Aragón, is the only document for

[40] Colmenares, *Historia de Segovia*, 1:216.

[41] February 1, 1124; Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (Madrid, 1910), 1:347-348.

[42] November 1, 1124; ibid., pp. 349-350: ". . . omnibus que ad regem pertinent vel ad ejus alcaidum sive marinum que multa sunt . . . postea alcaidus vel regius marinus novem partes parciantur et mittant in regalibus officiis sive operibus."

the city of the period, and it survives only in thirteenth- and fourteenth- century copies.[43] If the texts are to be accepted as faithful copies rather than as a composite of earlier and later provisions that portray the government of the town in the late eleventh century, then Medinaceli had a concejo whose officers were a judge, alcaldes, and at least one sayon. Moreover, the concejo itself is portrayed as establishing the fueros with the consent of King Alfonso. Even if we discount the lateness of the copies of the fuero, they reflect a remarkable sophistication and a startling confidence in the ability of what must have been a relatively small minority of Christians in a still predominantly Muslim town to rule themselves on the edge of a hostile frontier. In such a form it is difficult to accept them as truly applying to the Medinaceli either of Alfonso VI in 1094 or of Urraca in 1124.

The fueros mention a royal merino, and other sources say that Count Pedro González of Lara held Medinaceli in 1110.[44] In allowing these latter features, certainly we are on firm ground.

North of the Duero, however, in the older territories of León-Castilla, there were a variety of other towns. They lay for the most part along the Camino de Santiago, the pilgrim road that stretched from the Pyrenees through Burgos to Santiago de Compostela. Between these two cities lay Sahagún, León, Astorga, and Lugo. Far to the north of that highway,

[43] García-Gallo, "Fueros de Medinaceli," pp. 9-16, attributes the first grant to Alfonso VI; Lacarra and Menéndez Pidal believe it was Alfonso I of Aragón. There are two texts. One, in Romance, is that attributed simply to "Alfonso"; Tomás Muñoz y Romero, ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), pp. 433-443. The other, in Latin, is a grant by Alfonso I of Aragón to the town of Carcastillo in Navarra of the fueros of Medinaceli; ibid., pp. 469-471. This second is a composite with a long list of particulars clearly added to an earlier, much simpler document. The two copies often diverge in text. On these difficulties, see also González, *Repoblación*, 2:57, n. 242. There is a document of Sigüenza, dated April 1125, in which the latter's bishop mentions a concejo in Medinaceli; Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de Sigüenza*, 1:350.

[44] See ch. 10, note 100.

which enriched and invigorated the cities through which it passed, lay the old royal city of Oviedo. South of it were Palencia, Valladolid Orense, and Túy. All but two of these cities had been the longtime seats of bishoprics, which added to their prosperity and importance. Sahagún had grown up around the primary royal monastery of Sahagún, and Valladolid had been founded by the powerful house of Pedro Ansúrez. The documentation of their respective histories is fuller, but it is still almost always only the charters of their ecclesiastical establishments that have survived from this period. What studies of the towns do exist are usually chronicles with an ecclesiastical viewpoint. These must serve to cast some light upon their government.

Burgos is a starting point even though Urraca's control of the town was fitful. After her break in 1110 with her husband, Alfonso of Aragón, the fortunes of war determined who actually dominated the city. Urraca took it in 1113 but lost it again in 1114. Assuredly, local forces played some part in determining who ruled there at any given time just as they did at Segovia far to the south. Likewise, disputed episcopal elections, which resulted in the practical suspension of episcopal authority in the city between 1114 and 1117 and again from late 1118 until 1124, must also have exerted pressures upon municipal institutions.

To be sure, whether León or Aragón held the loyalty of the city, the royal castle that loomed over the town on the Arlanzón always meant that the crown enjoyed at least military authority in the city. As to civil authority, the crown had recognized the customs of Burgos prior to 1085.[45] The

[45] February 22, 1085. On this date Alfonso VI had extended the application of those customs, or fueros, to a village outside the city; published in Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo* v *al* xiii, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1935), 3:63-65. That the fuero remained in force can be seen from a similar grant of Alfonso VI on March 19, 1103, published in Julián García Sáinz de Baranda, *La ciudad de Burgos y su concejo en la Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1967), 2:403-405, under the date 1073; but the citation of Isabel as Alfonso's queen indicates that 1103 is the preferable reading.

execution and enforcement of those laws remained, however, the prerogative of a royal judge, or *iudex*, chosen from among the citizens. On July 20, 1118 Urraca issued a diploma to the men of Burgos in which she agreed that the person chosen would not be compelled to serve against his will.[46] Her son later included the same provision in his confirmation of the privileges of the city.[47]

The evident unpopularity of the position argues the difficulty of exercising the royal authority in the city. In 1113 the fact that the citizens, including the Jewish colony, favored Urraca against the Aragonese was regarded as worthy of mention by the author of the "Historia Compostelana."[48] A little later, the same source tells us, the burghers of the city, especially the French among them, pressed successfully for a conference to arrange a reconciliation of the royal couple.[49] The conference failed, of course, but the initiatives of the townsmen remained strong. Two letters of Pope Paschal II in 1115 cite the objections of the people of Burgos to their having been ignored in the selection of a new bishop for the city.[50]

None of these sources mentions a concejo of the city, but there is evidence nonetheless that one existed. A private document of August 29, 1113 is witnessed by "toto concilio de Burgos."[51] It was probably through this body, given the disruption of royal authority by civil war, that the men of Bur-

[46] García Sáinz de Baranda, *Burgos*, 2:412: "Unus ex vobis esset meus judex. . . . Ab hac die nullus sit meus judex nisi et sua propria volutate."

[47] Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, p. 266. The charter is dated to July 12, 1124, but the citation of Berengaria as queen means that it must date from 1127 or later.

[48] Enrique Flórez, ed., *ES*, vols. 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72), 20:157.

[49] Ibid., p. 164.

[50] See ch. 8, notes 22 and 23.

[51] Published in Serrano, *Obispado*, 3:142-143. Unfortunately the document survives only in a thirteenth-century copy. Because the witness of the concejo appears last it is just possible that it confirmed the document later. However, a rural concejo concerned with the transfer also appears earlier in the list of witnesses.

gos appeared so prominently in the affairs of the time. Still, there are no traces of "popular" officials at the time, and the royal judge and royal castellan must have been the most influential members and the presiding officers of the concejo.

The custom of Burgos and the authority of its judge extended also over a fair number of villages of the surrounding countryside. This alfoz was not a solid, territorial block of land, however, but rather islands in a welter of other jurisdictions.[52] Given no mention of a separate royal merino in Burgos during this period, it is likely that the administration of royal property in both the city and its alfoz fell within the competence of the royal judge as well.

Contemporary documents indicate that the government of the royal city of León discussed in the preceding chapter, was fairly similar. Like Burgos, León had its royal castle-palace, and a good number of the names of its castellans are known.[53] In León royal property was separately administered by a royal merino and again we know some of their names.[54] A wider authority, in the form of a countship of the city or the entire terra of León, seems to have been an occasional, emergency phenomenon.

The parallelism of government at León and Burgos is evident in the existence not only of its own customs, or fueros, but also of a concejo legally recognized by the crown. The confirmation by Urraca of the fueros of León in 1109 was addressed to it. No officials of the concejo are apparent in the documents of the time, so perhaps the royal merino in the town served as its presiding and executive officer; but the concejo's right to constitute special commissions for at least one legal purpose seems demonstrated in Urraca's con-

[52] On this general phenomenon, see María del Carmen Carlé, "La ciudad y su contorno en León y Castilla," *AEM* 8 (1972-73):69-103; for Burgos in particular, idem, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leones* (Buenos Aires, 1968), pp. 166-167.

[53] See ch. 10, note 102.

[54] See ch. 10, note 105.

firmation.[55] Without doubt, the authority of this council was circumscribed by that of the royal merino over royal property in the city and by that of the bishop over the large holdings of that see.

Nevertheless the concejo not only had achieved legal recognition in the city but had extended it into the countryside as well. Another charter of Urraca confirming the fueros of "vos homines de Legionense terra et de Carrione" should not be read as pertaining to a separate set of customs.[56] Their extension is yet to be determined precisely, and the discussion of the alfoz of León by Estepa Díez should be modified in view of the fact that she seems not to know this document.[57] As at Burgos, it was not a solid block of territory but instead islands of jurisdiction sharing the countryside with the authorities of the kings, bishops, monasteries, and *señores.*

Nevertheless, this royal recognition of the concejo's authority seems to have been sufficient to secure the steadfast allegiance of the burghers of León to Urraca throughout her reign, in contrast to what happened at Burgos, Carrión, Castrojeriz, Sahagún, and less seriously elsewhere. Alfonso of Aragón was never able to secure the support of the

[55] September 10, 1109; Manuel Risco, *ES*, vols. 28-42 (Madrid, 1774-1801), 35:414–415: "vobis Legionensi Concilio, clericis et laicis. . . . Veniant duo verissimi Christiani et duo Judaei et apretient laborem illius recte et juste et dato praetio reddat laborem et domum domino soli." Carlos Estepa Díez, *Estructura social de la ciudad de León* (León, 1977), pp. 456-458, believes that the evidence justifies only the assertion of the existence of smaller, multiple, neighborhood or community councils in and around the city until early in the reign of Alfonso Raimúndez, but he overlooks the charter of Urraca.

Again I prefer to draw here on the contemporary documents and to disregard entirely the famous early eleventh-century Fuero de León because of the very serious question of its later interpolation, raised by García-Gallo. See note 4 and Gibert, "El derecho municipal," pp. 697-698. Amando Represa, "Evolución urbana de León en los siglos XI-XIII," *León y su historia* 1 (1969):243-282, is concerned largely with the urban geography of the city.

[56] September 29, 1109; Risco, *ES*, 35:416–417.

[57] *Estructura social*, pp. 459–464.

townsmen there as he did at these other places,[58] and we cannot be sure that the unsuccessful attack of her enemies on the royal fortress there in 1119 was the work of the burghers. It seems more likely that it involved a faction of the nobility.[59] Despite the diverse population of the city—a condition that it shared with most towns of the pilgrimage road—which included Mozárabes, Franks, and Jews, the arrangements outlined above seem to have contented the townsmen. In addition, the obvious attractions of León's status as the royal city would have predisposed the Leonese to cooperate with the crown.

Farther west, at Astorga, whence the Camino de Santiago passes up into the mountains of Galicia, the state of affairs is almost impossible to determine. At Burgos and León the cathedral documents are so voluminous that they have not yet been adequately studied; at Astorga almost none of them survived the Napoleonic invasion. To be sure, the city had its bishop with the usual ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. Whether it had a royal castle-palace and castellan is impossible to say. There is reference to an old tower in the city in this period.[60] Perhaps this fortress was held not by the crown but by Count Froila Díaz of Astorga, who was given property in the city by Count Henry of Portugal and the Infanta Teresa when they briefly held the city in 1112.[61]

Comital jurisdication within a city proper, however, was a rarity and the surviving notices do not make it clear whether Froila was count of more than the terra of Astorga. So, too,

[58] In the spring of 1112 León had an Aragonese garrison, but it was installed by force and could not maintain itself through the summer. See Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed., "Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún," *BRAH* 76 (1920):339 and 347-348. Neither the accounts of the time nor the documents support Carmen Estepa Díez, "Sobre revueltas burguesas en el siglo XII en el reino de León," *AL* 55-56 (1974):294-295.

[59] See ch. 4, note 67.

[60] Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías de la provincia de León* (León, 1976), p. 64.

[61] March 1, 1112; Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *DMP* (Lisbon, 1958), 1:37-38.

notices of a merino in Astorga are almost nonexistent and ambiguous.[62] All that can be said with assurance is that, whatever its government, the city was steadfastly loyal to Urraca. In 1110 it refused to accept Alfonso of Aragón.[63] By late 1111, at the nadir of Urraca's fortunes, it was briefly in the hands of Count Henry of Portugal.[64] In 1112 it withstood a siege by the king of Aragón and thereafter remained, apparently contentedly, in her hands.[65]

From Astorga the pilgrimage road passed up into the mountains and arrived at the hilltop fortress town of Lugo. Here Urraca had her own chaplain installed as bishop by the Council of Palencia in 1113, and the town served as one of the great pillars of her strength in Galicia until the end of the reign. Prior to 1113, in the confused days of 1110-1111 the town had supported the cause of Alfonso of Aragón, according to the "Historia Compostelana"; its author, verbally flays the guilty without precisely identifying them.[66] It has been often assumed that the burghers of Lugo were supporters of Alfonso on the model of those of Sahagún, but no evidence exists for such an assertion. It was the bishop of Lugo who was deposed in 1113, although the charges against him seem to have been left at something like negligence.[67]

Urraca's concern to have a staunch supporter in her bishop there is even more understandable given the fact that Lugo was a señorio. That is, at least from 1089 the bishop was the sole secular authority of the town.[68] There was no royal

[62] See ch. 10, note 132.

[63] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):246.

[64] See ch. 2, note 104.

[65] See ch. 2, note 17.

[66] Flórez, *ES*, 20:121.

[67] Ibid., pp. 182-183. The real grievance against him may have been not that he supported Alfonso of Aragón in 1110-1111 but that he supported Alfonso Raimúndez in 1111-1112.

[68] July 25, 1089; AHN, Códices, 1.196, Tumbo viejo de Lugo, fols. 104v-105r, published in Antolín López Pélaez, *El señorio temporal de los obispos de Lugo*, 2 vols. (Corunna, 1897), 2:115-118. Unfortunately the original has not been preserved and the copy does not contain the list of confirmants.

castle in the town, and no royal or municipal officials can be documented for the reign of Urraca. Government by the bishop and his officials does not seem to have occasioned popular unrest, as it did later in the century. Although the city served as a market for the surrounding hill country and had its own mint in addition to the proceeds of the pilgrimage traffic, then as now its development was limited by its upland isolation.[69] At the time, the episcopal power was likely to appear as protective instead of oppressive to the small burgher community.

In a twelfth-century town ruled by its bishop, the cathedral chapter performed something of the mediating and advising function of a concejo. During this period its canons were usually drawn from the major families of the town and its surrounding countryside and provided, severally, a voice for those interests within episcopal councils. When circumstances were favorable they even chose their bishop, although the crown tended more and more to make him a royal appointee. Additionally, the increase in the power of the cathedral chapter over the resources of the church, so marked in this period, made the chapter also a partner in the government of the town where the bishop was its señor and its pastor.[70]

Indeed, the major contest came in the countryside. There episcopal authority over the alfoz of the town led to a series of clashes with Count Rodrigo Vélaz of Lemos-Sarria.[71] Be-

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The style of the document indicates that it was prepared outside the royal chancery but its outright rejection is not warranted by present knowledge. Carlé, "La ciudad," p. 85, and *Concejo*, p. 277, accepts both the document and the fact. In respect to Lugo, she follows the authority of Manuel Pérez-Villamil, "El señorio temporal de los obispos de España en la Edad Media," *BRAH* 68 (1916):361-390.

[69] The concern evidenced with the protection of the market is also perhaps testimony to its vulnerable location. October 6, 1102; AHN, Códices, 1.196, fol. 16. April 9, 1106; ibid., fol. 16v. January 21, 1108; ibid., fols. 16v-17r.

[70] In Lugo that cooperation achieved formal acceptance. See Carlé, *Concejo*, p. 269.

[71] See ch. 8, note 16.

cause Urraca needed the support of both the count and the bishop, she could not effectively decide matters between them.

At the end and as the goal of the pilgrimage lay the city of Santiago de Compostela, about whose government and vicissitudes we know a great deal more than we do of Astorga or Lugo. Its bishop and then archbishop, Diego Gelmírez, was one of the great political forces as well as one of the great churchmen of the reign. From the biography that Gelmírez inspired, the "Historia Compostelana," and the documents of the shrine of Saint James much can be gleaned.

There was no royal palace in or near the city of the saint. When necessary, the episcopal palace seems to have been pressed into service for royal functions.[72] Nevertheless the crown was not without representatives in the city. As early as 1096 one Pelayo Gudestéiz appears in a charter of Count Raymond as "iudex regius loci sancti."[73] In a private document of 1113 he is again cited as "iudex."[74] In all likelihood he is the same person identified in 1109 and 1110 as a strong supporter of Urraca and therefore an opponent of Bishop Diego Gelmírez, Count Pedro Froilaz, and the party of the child Alfonso Raimúndez in those years.[75] His continuance as royal judge in Compostela, despite the oscillations of royal policy due to the continuously changing factional scene in Galicia, is yet another indication of Urraca's real power in that province.

Pelayo Gudestéiz was not the sole royal judge in Compostela during this time. As early as 1105 one Pedro Daniélez appeared as "iudex" in a charter of Count Raymond.[76] In 1112 he appeared as "iudex magni palatii" in a document

[72] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:120-121.

[73] August 21, 1096; Flórez, *ES*, 18:340-342.

[74] October 3, 1113; ARG, Documentos particulares, no. 27. The last document in which he appears is May 31, 1124; published in Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911), 4:7-9 app.

[75] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:96-98 and 130-136.

[76] December 16, 1105; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:61-63 app.

of Urraca and in 1115 as "canonicus et iudex publicus" in a document of Bishop Gelmírez.[77] Judges appear also in 1125, taking an oath to observe the customs of the city.[78]

It has been asserted that these judges were four in number, that they were subordinates of the chief executive of the city, the *villicus civitate*, and that both he and they were named by Gelmírez.[79] The documents, however, do not support so simple an interpretation of the facts. The account in the "Historia Compostelana" does not identify the judges of 1125 or give their number, nor does it state that they are subordinate to the villicus. It identifies them as the archbishop's judges. The most likely resolution of the difficulty is that there were both royal and episcopal judges in the city with differing jurisdictions.

The villicus himself probably had judicial as well as executive functions, although the account does not make that entirely clear, for the rigorous separation of the two was unknown at the time. Of this latter official we have no independent record. The "Historia Compostelana" tells us that Muño Gelmírez, brother of the bishop, had held the post and that, in the rebellion of 1117, another named Diego Strabo held it.[80] Both were killed in that rebellion. Whereas the bishop held the señorial authority of the city,[81] the villicus was the instrument through which he ordinarily exercised it. In this instance the latter was not, however, a military dignity, for we find Gelmírez himself leading the forces of his señorio when they were called out.[82]

The villicus also in all likelihood was somewhat the agent of the concejo of the city as well as of its bishop, for the

[77] May 9, 1112; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 80r. April 15, 1115; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:102-103 app.

[78] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:410-413.

[79] Carlé, *Concejo*, p. 268, and Gibert, "El derecho municipal," p. 699.

[80] Flórez, *ES*, 20:215 and 232-233.

[81] In 1116 Urraca instructed the burghers to respect their bishop "nec auferrent ei jura vel potestatem suae civitatis"; ibid., p. 223.

[82] Ibid., pp. 325 and 443-444.

concejo participated in the government of Compostela. Its existence is cited as early as 1095 in a judicial capacity.[83] Otherwise, it can be detected in operation only during the revolutionary circumstances of 1116. The "Historia Compostelana" informs us that the political initiative was taken by a conspiracy among the powerful of the city.[84] When, however, they wished to take legal control of the city they had to resort to another vehicle.[85] The "Historia Compostelana" styles this body a "conventus" of the clergy and people rather than a "concilium."[86] It should probably be understood to mean a concejo rather than an assembly of the entire populace. The revolutionary aspect consisted both in its direction by the leaders of the conspiracy rather than by the bishop, who was ordinarily its presiding officer, and in its functioning at all in his absence.[87]

Another instance of the operation of such a body is to be seen in the events surrounding the oaths of 1125. On that occasion the events occurred in the presence of the "opti-

[83] September 24, 1095; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:37-38 app: "postulaverit veritatem ab episcopo vel assenioribus huius loci coram omni concilio et idoneis testibus."

[84] Flórez, *ES*, 20:215-216: "faciunt quamdam conspirationem quam vocant germanitatem." Luis Vázquez de Parga, "La revolución comunal de Compostela en los años 1116 y 1117," *AHDE* 16 (1945):685-703, is more a paraphrase of the HC account than an analysis of the events.

[85] Ibid., p. 217: "Praedicti conspiratores adjuncto sibi clero et populo . . . renovant leges et plebiscita, assumunt sibi dominum totius urbis. . . . Episcopus vero contentus sola umbra nominis, et pro tempore cedens, quanquam non laudet opera et consilia eorum, non tamen vituperat: sufficit ei vocari dominus et de quibusdam se consuli ab his conspiratoribus, extra namque civitatem tantum dominium solitum habebat. Ceterum in civitate neque res, neque tempus exigebat, exercere dominium."

[86] Ibid., pp. 219-220: "Clerum et populum in conventum absente episcopo vocabant, leges et judicia pertractabant. . . . Quadam die clero et populo vocato in conventum. . . ."

[87] The regular existence of a concejo that could become such a vehicle of popular feeling has been seen as obviating the need for some other institutionalization of a commune within the Iberian peninsula. Jean Gautier-Dalché, "Les mouvements urbains dans le nord-ouest de l'Espagne au XIIème siècle: Influences éstrangères ou phénomènes originaux?" *CH* 2 (1968):61-64.

matibus cleri atque populi illius civitatis in unum convocatis," but Gelmírez clearly both had summoned them and was the directing spirit. The men of Compostela ratified the actions, however. Also, the ordinary participation of the cathedral chapter in the secular authority of a bishop who was also señor is implied by the fact that the senior canons also gave their adherence to the agreement.[88] This entire episode also indicates that the successful episcopal and royal reaction against the rebels of 1116–1117 did not entail a structural change in what had been, and continued to be, the ordinary government of the city.

Gelmírez's señorio extended beyond the limits of the city itself, and the laws governing the city and the countryside were distinguishable. In his legislation of 1113 the city is excepted, but the concejo appears to have shared in his authority over the rural districts as well.[89] Again, the Friday courts held at the episcopal palace to serve the rural populace also might be presided over by bishop, judges, or canons.[90] The statutes themselves deal with a variety of civil, economic, religious, legal, and fiscal matters.

Although the great dignity of the church of Santiago and the extraordinary forcefulness of Gelmírez made this case somewhat special, it would be a mistake to conceive the alfoz of Compostela as a solid block of territories either. The grant by Urraca in 1112 of all the royal lands between the Ulla and Tambre doubtless made the "honor" of Santiago more homogeneous than most, at least in that particular area.[91] But islands of personal jurisdiction remained even there, and elsewhere the lands of Santiago were widely scattered.

Away from the bustling cities of the pilgrimage road, were

[88] Flórez, HC, *ES*, 20:411-413.

[89] Ibid., p. 176: "cum ejusdem sedis canonicorum judicio ceterorumque nobilium virorum consilio praedecessorum statum relegendo ad protegendum populum, ad exhibendam justitiae normam in toto honore B. Jacobi excepta Compostellana urbe. . . ."

[90] Ibid., p. 179: "in praesentia pontificis, judicum, et canonicorum."

[91] May 14, 1112; published in López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3:79–80.

two other cities of Galicia, hard by the border of modern Portugal. Túy and Orense were not infrequently controlled by the Infanta Teresa, but León finally managed to retain them despite the fact that both were better oriented by geography to a north-south trade than to an east-west one. The critical factor was the loyalty of their bishops, both of whom had been appointed by Alfonso VI and survived through the reign of his daughter. Alfonso was bishop of Túy from 1097 to 1131 and Diego was bishop of Orense from 1097 to 1132.[92] Both towns seem to have been episcopal señorios.

Túy was ruled by its bishop from 1095, when Count Raymond granted an extraordinarily well-defined immunity to the see that would have had that effect. Urraca granted but one generous charter to its bishop in 1112 that sheds no further light on the status quo.[93] The documents of the period provide no notices of a concejo in the town or of subordinate officials, either episcopal or royal. Presumably the bishop's household or the cathedral chapter would have furnished such merinos or judges as were necessary to the life of a frontier town with a small, regional trade.

A charter of Alfonso VII in 1142 spelled out the episcopal jurisdiction over the town. The cathedral chapter was associated with the bishop, the latter was given the right to appoint judges, and the authority of the episcopal merino was recognized. A royal fortress that Alfonso said he had caused to be built in the town was also surrendered to the prelate.[94] The wording of Alfonso's charter raises the question of how absolute the episcopal authority had in fact been heretofore. Considering the difficulty of enforcing royal authority in that remote area during the reign of Urraca, however, it is justi-

[92] Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. (Oxford, 1978), pp. 48-51.

[93] February 11, 1095 and April 28, 1112; Pascual Galindo Romeo, *Túy en la baja Edad Media* (Madrid, 1950), pp. iii-vi, publishes these documents from copies in the cathedral archive and accepts their implications. Carlé, "La ciudad," pp. 84-85, also accepts them.

[94] August 1142; published in Flórez, *ES*, 22:266-268.

fiable to conclude that the bishop was the real señor of the town during our period. By virtue of the charter of Count Raymond and subsequent grants, the bishop's writ ran in most of the immediately surrounding countryside as well.

Orense, like Túy, is the site of a cathedral whose documents have been largely unresearched.[95] Two currently known documents serve to establish and define the episcopal authority over the city and its environs. In 1122 Bishop Diego, with the consent of the clergy and people, issued a fuero to its citizens. This action associated the canons of the cathedral with the bishop and was done with the joint permission of Urraca, Alfonso Raimúndez, Teresa of Portugal, and Count Fernando of Limia.[96] No concejo is explicitly mentioned, but we should so understand the reference to clergy and people unless the inhabitants were issuing a fuero to themselves. No subordinate officials are named but their employment is clearly envisioned by the fuero.

When in 1131 Alfonso VII recognized by charter that the city was "in dominio et obsequio episcopi et canonicorum" he was apparently confirming an arrangement already sanc-

[95] The collections of neither cathedral have been included in the microfilm collection of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and both are somewhat difficult of access, although the canon-archivists of each are most willing to be of help once the researcher appears on the scene. The scholarly archivist of Orense has managed to get some catalogs of his archive into print; Emilio Duro Peña, ed., "Catálogo de documentos reales del archivo de la catedral de Orense (844-1520)," *Miscelánea de textos medievales* (Barcelona, 1972), 1:9-145, and *Catálogo de los documentos privados en pergamino del archivo de la catedral de Orense, 888-1554* (Orense, 1973).

[96] Published in Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 499-500: "Una cum consensu cleri et plebis . . . collectione favore reginae dominae Urrache, nec non filii ejus regis Adefonsi, et reginae T., et comitis Ferdinandi Limiam regentis . . . in praesentia episcopi seu canonicorum . . . episcopo et canonicis vel ei qui easdem vices obtinuerit." The undated document is assigned by Duro Peña, *Catálogo de documentos privados*, pp. 17-18, to 1122 and styled an original. I believe 1122 is the most likely date, but on paleographic grounds I would say the document is a copy of the late twelfth century.

tioned by his predecessors.[97] No royal castle is known to have existed in the city, and the documents currently known provide no evidence of royal officials there during Urraca's reign that would point to a different conclusion. The extent of the alfoz of the city has not yet been the object of study.

The organization of government in the only city of Asturias at the time, Oviedo, is more analagous to the pattern in Burgos or in León than to that in Galicia. The old royal city of the north for the entire reign of Urraca had as its bishop Pelayo, appointed in the time of Alfonso VI and unswervingly loyal to his daughter. Bishop Pelayo not only was an important political figure and a chronicler of Alfonso VI but also worked to make Oviedo a pilgrimage center on the model of Santiago de Compostela, based on its large collection of relics. Historians are still trying to isolate the forged and interpolated documents produced in his chancery from the genuine ones,[98] but he enjoyed considerable success in promoting the continued vitality of the city and its church.[99]

Despite its preoccupation in Castilla, Galicia, and Toledo, the crown maintained a strong presence in Oviedo. There was a royal palace there, and the names of two of the merinos who looked after royal interests and properties in the city have survived.[100] The evidence points also to the existence of

[97] May 15, 1131; published in Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, pp. 501-502: "antecessorum meorum consuetudinem non irrationabiliter sequens."

[98] See Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, *El libro de testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971). Fortunately a wide basis for comparison has been established by the editions of Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962); Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Belmonte* (Oviedo, 1960); Pedro Floriano Llorente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1968); and by the older work of Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de monasterio de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927).

[99] Santos García Larragueta, *Sancta Ovetensis* (Madrid, 1962), pp. 22, 25, and 81.

[100] December 22, 1113; published in Floriano Llorente, *Colección de San Vicente de Oviedo*, pp. 235-236: "maiarino Ecta Ordogniz." June 17, 1114;

a subordinate, or submerino, who assisted in royal administration.[101] Finally, we have the names of two judges, and although they are not explicitly called royal judges, the context suggests that they were just that.[102]

These two judges, appearing in the same document, reveal a further distinction in jurisdiction, one of them being styled "judge of those Franks." It seems that in Oviedo, as in Toledo, the Franks had a separate official if not a separate set of customs. Such a division does not seem to have retarded the appearance of a concejo of the entire city. In particular, references to such a body are prominent in the documents of the monastery of San Vicente. In 1114 a sale of property was consummated "nos in concilio legenter audivimus de manus nostros roboravimus."[103] Another sale of 1115, even more significantly, "in concilio fuit rovorada ante Christovalo Iohannes," suggests that the royal merino was the chief officer of the concejo.[104]

As in other cities of the time, the bishop would have had a formidable authority not only as prelate, but also as royal appointee and counselor and as landlord and immunist in

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ibid., pp. 236-237: "Christovalo Johanes maiorino in Ovedao." February 27, 1115; ibid., pp. 242-243: "Cristbal Ibanez merino in palatio." March 8, 1115; ibid., pp. 244-245: "Xristorclo Johanes maiorino in palacio." April 30, 1123; ibid., pp. 264-266: "Christoforus Iohannis maiorinus in Oveto." In this latter form again on June 6, 1123; ibid., pp. 269-270.

[101] February 27, 1115: "Vermudo Cidiz, submerino de Cristobal Ibanez." March 8, 1115: "Vermudo Cidiz, maiorino so mano de Christovalo Johanes." See preceding note. These are rare notices of this office, which might more often be styled simply "vicar," but both documents are originals.

[102] June 17, 1114: "Robert iudice de illos francos. Monio Sarasin iudice. . . . " See note 100.

[103] June 13, 1114; Floriano Llorente, *Colección de San Vicente de Oviedo*, pp. 236-237.

[104] March 8, 1115; ibid., pp. 244-245. Two other documents of the cathedral of Oviedo are granted "in presentia bonorum hominum," which may be taken to indicate the concejo as well. December 25, 1111 and May 26, 1120; published in García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 344-345 and 364-365. All these documents are originals.

most episcopal lands. It does not appear, however, that he was señor of the city, and the purported donation of such an authority in 1112 by Urraca must be rejected as an interpolation to a royal charter of more limited scope.[105]

The other example of an episcopal señorio outside of Galicia exists at Palencia. That city, thirty-five kilometers south of Carrión de los Condes on the banks of the Río Carrión, had purportedly held that status since the time of Alfonso VI. As usual with such jurisdictions, there is no evidence of a royal castle, castellans, or officials in the city in the documents of the period. Again, as we have seen, its bishop was one of the staunchest supporters of Urraca.

The best evidence for episcopal control there is flawed, however. Alfonso VI's charter of March 31, 1090 reads "ut nullus morator seu habitator intra ambitum Pallentia vel circitum, cuius cumque conditionis aut generis vel ministerii aut legis sit, alium dominum habeat vel habere possit nisi solum Pallentinum episcopum et canonicos. . . ." That is straightforward enough, but the language of the document is precocious for the period and the alfoz delineated is enormously extended to include even Arévalo, Olmedo, Tordesillas, and Simancas. There are also diplomatic problems with the document, and I have reluctantly concluded that it is a forgery based on a genuine charter of Alfonso.[106]

[105] March 12, 1112; García Larragueta, *Colección de Oviedo*, pp. 345-347. For a detailed critique of this charter see Fernández Conde, *Libro de testamentos*, pp. 354-361.

[106] AHN, Sección de Microfilmas, Palencia, rollo 1.658, no. 9; published in Pedro Fernando del Pulgar, *Historia secular y eclesiástica de la ciudad de Palencia* (Madrid, 1680), 1:123-125. It must be remembered that the charters of Alfonso VI have neither been edited nor studied. Moreover, the scribe has executed a brilliant copy of the chancery hand of Alfonso's notary, Pelagius Erigiz. Unfortunately he did not take the same care with Pelagius's seal, and the notary does not otherwise appear in the royal chancery before 1096. The royal *armiger*, Gómez González, also does not regularly appear before 1093 and the bishop of Burgos confirms as the bishop of "Oca," an apparently deliberate attempt at archasim. Pulgar's seventeenth-century history of the city accepts all documents uncritically, including this one.

The question then becomes to what extent the forger was deliberately falsifying the situation of 1090. It is possible that his main concern was with establishing the enormous extent of the alfoz of Palencia and that the original charter did establish a more modest señorio of the bishop and canons. The problem is complicated by the fact that the documents of the cathedral of Palencia are presently uncataloged and that the documents themselves are not arranged strictly chronologically.

Fortunately, there are two late copies of papal bulls of the period that confirm the possessions of the bishopric of Palencia, among which are mentioned "ipsam Palentiae civitatem sub iure ac dominio possidendam sicut a regibus data et concessa. . . . "[107] These are reinforced by a private document of the early reign of Alfonso VII that cites "petrus episcopus in palencia et senior in magaz."[108] The latter also mentions a merino and a sayon for Palencia, who are no doubt episcopal rather than royal officials. The cumulative evidence seems to justify the assumption that Palencia was an episcopal town.

Forty kilometers southwest of Palencia on the bank of the Río Pisuerga, about fifteen kilometers before that stream enters the Duero, lay Valladolid. This town was the foundation of Count Pedro Ansúrez. Its size is hard to estimate for this period, but the consecration of its church in 1095 had drawn a great concourse of the ecclesiastics and secular magnates of the realm. On that occasion Count Pedro not only richly endowed the collegiate church and its abbot but also granted it an immunity and a *barrio*, or district, within the city itself. From this text it appears that the city already had a concejo and a comital merino and sayon who were presumably the

[107] March 25, 1116, Paschal II; AHN, Microfilmas, Palencia, Armario 3, legajo 10, rollo 7, fols. 37v-38v. November 29, 1125, Honorius II; ibid., fols. 38v-39v.

[108] May 13, 1128; AHN, Microfilmas, Palencia, rollo 1.642, no. 5.

former's presiding and executive officers.[109] Given that they were specifically denied jurisdiction within the ceded barrio, the city must have consisted of at least two jurisdictions from this time on.

One suspects that the authority of the collegiate church and its abbot tended to grow in Valladolid both through pious grants and through its concern with more local matters than occupied the count. By 1100 the church had come to the direct attention of Alfonso VI, who made a grant to it. This document was confirmed by "Munio Didaz, Merino Regis."[110] The same figure appeared again the following year as confirmant of an exchange of property between Santa María de Valladolid and the monastery of San Zoil in Carrión.[111] It is possible that the growing importance of Valladolid was leading to at least a partial substitution of royal for comital authority there or that the crown was concerned with the power of Count Pedro generally, for in this period the name of Muño Díaz appeared as merino in Saldaña and Carrión too, where the count's writ also ran.

The authority of the church of Valladolid would also have been enhanced by Count Pedro's long absence from the realm during the years 1103-1109, and in 1110 Urraca granted to it lands previously held by the count.[112] Nevertheless, the count

[109] May 21, 1095; published in Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María de Valladolid*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917-20), 1:24-54, from two exemplars with the full texts of each and copious notes: "ad Abbatem Dompnum Salturn et collegio clericorum, qui ibidem sunt constituti, unum barrium in Valleoliti" (p. 25). "Et non habeat licentiam nostro Maiorino vel Sagione aut illo Concilio" (p. 27).

[110] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[111] Ibid., pp. 67-71: "Muniu Didaz, Maiorinus."

[112] Ibid., pp. 85-87, dated to January 7, 1111, but in this version no reference is made to the earlier ownership of the lands, and Raymond, not Pedro, is given as bishop of Palencia. December 15, 1110; AHN, Microfilmas, Palencia, armario 3, legajo 14, no. 4, has both the reference and the correct confirmation of the bishop of Palencia.

continued to be a patron of Santa María de Valladolid and in his donation of 1114 one "Dominico Belaskiz Maiorino" appears, although whose official he was is not clear.[113] The count's final donation the following year adds no information about jurisdictions, but two private documents of almost the same time were witnessed by an alcalde.[114]

Pedro Ansúrez died in late 1117 or 1118 but his heirs continued to be prominent in the affairs of the realm.[115] It is likely that the señorio of Valladolid continued in the family, although we do not know who inherited it. No royal castle was built in the town, and the abbot of the collegiate church did not possess the prestige that would have allowed the usurpation of the señorio. The divisions of Urraca's reign may have allowed the growth of the concejo's powers under these circumstances.

Finally, one other spot on the pilgrim road to Compostela needs some brief consideration. It was not a city boasting an episcopate like the others; rather, its center was the royal abbey and pantheon of Sahagún. The rich documentation of that monastery is bolstered by a chronicle of an anonymous contemporary, who detailed the revolt there against abbatial authority in the years 1111-1117. In both the relative fullness of information and the fact that both were ecclesiastical señorios that experienced popular revolt against the prevailing condition, Sahagún parallels fairly closely Santiago de Compostela.

Royal favor, the prestige of the monastery itself, and its

[113] September 18, 1114; Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de Valladolid*, 1:95-98. September 17, 1114; ibid., pp. 91-92 and 95-97, is another donation by the count to the church, and there are more grounds to be suspicious of the two documents than just their chronology. The merino does not confirm the earlier one.

[114] June 27, 1115; ibid., pp. 106-107. February 4, 1115; ibid., pp. 99-102: "Oveco Alkaede testis." May 1, 1115; ibid., pp. 103-105: "Oveco Alkaede confirmans."

[115] Justiniano Rodríguez Fernandez, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966), pp. 55-57.

location on the pilgrim road had combined to make it a center of a diverse population by the late reign of Alfonso VI, who established the authority of its abbot, according to "Las crónicas anónimas."[116] The author does not say when the latter event took place. Various documents of the monastery would have it as early as 1085 or 1087, but it has been adequately demonstrated that these are later forgeries.[117] Since there were a royal palace, baths, and mill there as late as 1093, it is most unlikely that the grant of Alfonso VI antedated that year.[118] On the other hand, abbatial authority had been established by 1096, in which year that prelate issued a fuero to the inhabitants.[119]

Abbatial authority over the village probably continued until the reign of Urraca, for in 1110 the abbot issued a rather generous fuero to another dependency.[120] Moreover, it was the abbot of whom the burghers of Sahagún asked permission to fortify the village in 1110.[121] During the years 1111 to 1114, although the chronological record is never com-

[116] Puyol y Alonso, *BRAH* 76 (1920):118.

[117] November 25, 1085; AHN, Sección de Clero, carp. 885, nos. 15 and 16; published in Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), pp. 482-484. May 14, 1087; AHN, Clero, carp. 942, no. 15, and carp. 885, no. 20; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 484-486. Both documents exist only in later copies. Their lack of credibility has been demonstrated by Barrero García, "Fueros de Sahagún," pp. 393-401.

[118] November 22, 1093; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 4; Escalona, *Historia de Sahágun*, pp. 493-494.

[119] April 1, 1096; published in Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 497.

[120] June 6, 1110; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 4; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 507-508. This document has been regarded as another fuero to Sahagún itself, but Barrera García, "Fueros de Sahagún," p. 393, argues that it has been misunderstood. Two other private donations to Sahagún during the last year of the reign of Alfonso list three royal merinos without specifying their area of jurisdiction. Because both are documents produced at court, they do not necessarily indicate royal authority operative at Sahagún itself. September 4, 1108; AHN, Códices, 989B, fol. 80r. March 27, 1109; AHN, Clero, carp. 892, no. 21.

[121] Puyol y Alonso, "Las crónicas anónimas," *BRAH* 76 (1920):243-244.

pletely clear, the town was most often in the hands of a castellan of the king of Aragón, but this was a wartime innovation.[122]

It is clear during this period that the burghers of the town were quite capable of corporate action, but although a hermandad, a *conspiración*, and a *conjuración* are all mentioned, a concejo never is.[123] When the town returned its allegiance to the abbot his confirmation of a new fuero, drawn up by the burghers themselves, was eagerly if unsuccessfully sought but again there is no mention of a concejo nor, for that matter, of any of the charter's provisions.[124]

When the abbot had regained full control of the town in the fall of 1116, Urraca explicitly confirmed the abbatial señorio there.[125] Again there is no mention of a concejo in that document, but there is such a mention in a similar charter of Alfonso Raimúndez to Sahagún three years later. Unfortunately, the latter should be regarded as a later reworking of Urraca's grant.[126] The authority of the abbot apparently remained unmodified until the death of Urraca at least, for as late as 1125 he issued a fuero to the men of Sahagún in his own name and that of the monks, though "concessione re-

[122] Ibid., p. 340: "fueron quitados del poder de los monjes e fueron puestos so el señorio e poderio del dicho Sanchianes."

[123] Ibid., pp. 245 and 353.

[124] Ibid., p. 404, and 77 (1921):56-57.

[125] October 15, 1116; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, no. 16; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 512-513: "Ita ut nullus majorinus, nullus sajo intra villam vel intra cautum Sancti Facundi aliquid regale ius aut negocium exerceat. . . ."

[126] October 8, 1119; AHN, Clero, carp. 893, nos. 22 and 23; Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 514-515: "Postea vero si placuerit Abbati et Senoribus de toto concilio. . . ." The diplomatic of the charter is such that it could hardly have been a chancery product, and substantial portions of the language are identical to that of the charter of Urraca. The copying can hardly have been the other way, for the subsequent prestige of a charter of Urraca would have been superfluous compared to that of a charter of Alfonso. Moreover, the political position of Alfonso in 1119 hardly admitted of such an important grant, and Alfonso's charter increases the share of the revenues of the mint there over what had been stipulated by the queen.

gine."[127] Occasional references to vicars or provosts in some of these documents do not make clear whether monastic or town officials were involved, but the former seems more likely.

On the basis of this survey of the documentary evidence, the most appropriate generalization is that the ordinary form of municipal government in the realm of León-Castilla during the reign of Urraca was government by royal castellan, alcalde, or iudex. The examination also indicates that these three were not necessarily distinct offices in the minds of contemporaries.

This type of government did not prevail only in three of the most important cities of the realm's heartland, at Burgos, León, and Oviedo. It was typical also of the new, imperial city of Toledo on the Tajo. In the trans-Duero it predominated as well whenever royal authority could be made effective there, as at Zamora from 1117, at Segovia from 1118, and at Sigüenza and Medinaceli from 1124.

The next most important type of municipal government was episcopal rule. In the western province of Galicia bishops governed the diminutive frontier towns of Túy and Orense, the hill town of Lugo, and the prosperous pilgrim center at Santiago de Compostela. The same was true of Palencia in Castilla.

Of the machinery of government at Ávila, Salamanca, and Astorga, too little is known to characterize it. The same is true of tiny Burgo de Osma, if that outpost bishopric can really be characterized as a town during this period.

Royal and episcopal government, however, should not be too sharply distinguished. At Santiago de Compostela a royal judge had some jurisdiction even within an episcopal señorio, and this arrangement very likely had parallels elsewhere. No jurisdiction of the period was monolithic in respect of persons or of property. More important, bishops were, for all practical purposes, nominated by the crown and their ties

[127] March 19, 1125; AHN, Clero, carp. 894, nos. 14 and 15.

to it remained very close, as a study of royal charters indicates. By the same token, even in a royal town the bishop was as much a counsellor of the crown as any castellan, probably as great a landlord and immunist, and possessed an extensive ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well. Few really important matters can have been decided against his advice.

Alternative forms of government in important towns are few. Sahagún was ruled by the monastery's abbot, but his relationship to the crown was closer even than that of most bishops. Valladolid and the smaller Cuéllar stand alone as sizable towns in the hands of a great noble, and Pedro Ansúrez was most closely related to the crown. Only Sepúlveda offers the possible example of a town governing itself. Even Carlé, who accepts its fuero as a contemporary document, hesitates before drawing such a conclusion.[128]

On the other hand, the concejo seems to have been a fairly generalized subordinate institution of government in the reign of Urraca. In royal towns one existed at Burgos, León, Oviedo, Segovia, Sepúlveda, and Medinaceli. There is no evidence for one at Toledo, Zamora, or Sigüenza. In episcopal towns a concejo is documented for Compostela and probably Orense but not for Túy, Lugo, or Palencia. As for the other towns, Valladolid and Cuéllar had councils under Pedro Ansúrez but Sahagún seems to have had none.

The subordinate officialdom of the towns cannot be grouped in any finally convincing pattern, although this may be a function of the character of the sources or of the latter's near absence at times. At Toledo there was an alcalde whose jurisdiction appears to have been superior, with other alcaldes who were judges only for the Castilians and Mozárabes, respectively. In other words, the cultural diversity of the population, with some groups certainly possessed of their own fueros, forced an elaboration of officials. Something similar occurred in Oviedo, which had two judges, one of them for

[128] Carlé, *Concejo*, pp. 41-42.

the Franks. But there is no such diversification at either León or Burgos, both of which had cosmopolitan populations.

At Oviedo too there is clear evidence for a hierarchy of officials, with a merino and a submerino, and also convincing evidence that the merino functioned within the concejo. From Compostela there is evidence only that more than one judge existed in the town and that there was also a villicus civitate, but the subordination of the former to the latter is only inferential.

It is tempting to relate, then, greater complexity of administration to the size of the town, but from León we know only one merino and from Burgos only one judge. Both towns must have been comparable in population to Oviedo and Compostela. Little Túy furnishes evidence of a plurality of judges and a merino but the evidence is from the 1140s. Sigüenza had an alcalde and a merino, Palencia a merino and a sayon, and Valladolid an alcalde merino, and sayon. Finally, although it would be pleasant to be sure that during Urraca's reign castellans were always vigorously distinguished from merinos, and merinos from alcaldes or judges, the documents do not inspire any such certainty. Instead, the one constant reminder, in particular, is that all such officials were both administrators and judges.

TWELVE

THE INDOMITABLE QUEEN

AMONG the women of her own age, and for virtually the entire history of the medieval West, Urraca is unique. That is, she was both a woman and the crowned head of a major western kingdom who ruled in her own right. Even given the many redoubtable women of the Middle Ages who functioned within the political arena with appreciable effect, that verdict stands. Blanche of Castilla was, after all, never more than queen mother and regent of France. Eleanor of Aquitaine was never more than the ablest of intriguers.

More serious contenders to a rough parity of position are closer to Urraca's own time. Still, Matilda of England never did supplant Stephen I in that realm, although she tried mightily and seemed briefly in 1141 to be about to do so. Not just English history but English historiography records the failure.[1] Though ruling in her own right, Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1076–1115) was nevertheless not of the same rank. Nor was the extent of her territories comparable, for Urraca had inherited a kingdom larger than that of England and with probably a comparable population. But despite her dissimilar arena, achievement, and temperament, Matilda has begun to find historians.[2] Perhaps the best analogue to Ur-

[1] Nevertheless, she deserves better than the popular Nesta Pain, *Empress Matilda* (London, 1978). R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Berkeley, 1967), and H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen, 1135-1154* (London, 1970), go with the winner, which is understandable, but the treatment of Matilda is still unconscionably brief. Of the latter's fifty-six page chapter on their respective characters, "The King and the Empress," Stephen gets fifty-three. Oskar Rössler, *Kaiserin Mathilde* (Berlin, 1897), surely needs a contemporary counterpart.

[2] Nora Duff, *Matilda of Tuscany* (London, 1909), is merely quaint. But in Alfred Overmann, *Gräfin Mathilde von Tuscien* (Innsbruck, 1895), and the recent *Studi Matildici* (Modena, 1971) her career may be fairly said to have begun to find adequate treatment.

raca's own career is that of her rival and half sister Teresa of Portugal (1109-1128), although the latter also has yet to be accorded a study equal to her importance.

The study of the reign of Urraca, for all her prominence, remains a study of her public acts and the public institutions of the realm itself. There is as yet no feasible method of penetrating her thoughts or her councils. Unsatisfactory though such an approach may be, the sources of information for the early twelfth century are not, by and large, personal ones.

It may be that the architect of all her policies was Bernard, the great archbishop of Toledo. He was almost always with her. Or it may be that her hand was guided by Pedro González, Count of Lara. He was her lover and her companion until her death. Some contemporaries apparently thought that such was the case in 1119, and that conviction or fear sparked a brief and unsuccessful rising. But the public records and fitful private observations that survive portray the queen herself in control. When abominations occur the sources hold Urraca ultimately responsible. When things go well, they credit her sense of equity or her acceptance of sound advice. Throughout the period Urraca is the queen and the crown, and all decisions were ultimately her decisions. There were a variety of attempts to change that simple fact but all of them failed.

It is from this necessarily remote viewpoint that a summary appraisal of her achievements must proceed. If we cannot penetrate to the inner workings of the policy making of the royal court or the agents that shaped it, that is not an unusual condition for a number of early twelfth-century monarchs. The substantial, public record is surely to be preferred to the insubstantial conjectures of personal biography, psychology, economics, or sociology when applied to the available data on her reign.

In such a sense, Urraca can be said to have made four great policy decisions in light of which her performance must be judged. That is, although most of her government proceeded along lines already laid down at least as far back as the reign

of her father, the developing conditions of her rule brought her to certain points at which she made decisions that either broke consciously with the policy of her father or for which the policy of her father offered no substantial guidance. In the order of occurrence, these are: (1) the decision in 1110-1112 to break with the Aragonese marriage in favor of her own, personal rule; (2) the decision in 1111, and more fully in 1116, formally to associate her son with herself in the government of the realm; (3) the policy of truce with Aragón from 1117 in order to secure the remainder of the realm; and (4) the attempt to resolve the political tangle in Galicia by the seizure of Archbishop Gelmírez in 1120. My own considered judgment is that the first three represented difficult but essentially correct judgments and the fourth a clear error. Even the last did not bring down her government, however. Such a record seems defensible, but let us review it in some detail.

The overall assessment of the reign of Urraca must begin with an understanding of the condition of the realm at the death of her father. As with every monarch, the queen could start only from the ground on which she stood, and the directions in which she could proceed were largely determined by that most basic of facts.

In one respect above all the queen was fortunate. Although it was not to be apparent for better than a decade, the Murābit threat had reached its peak at the end of the reign of Alfonso VI and the very beginning of her own. Given the present state of research into the internal history of al-Andalus and North Africa, the reasons why that should have been so remain obscure. A great deal of work remains to be done in the areas of demography, economics, institutions, and politics itself before a satisfactory answer can be adumbrated.[3] The slackening of Muslim vigor, however, is clear from the record.

[3] The more recent work is reported and employed in Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979), but both processes illuminate best the piecemeal nature of our present knowledge.

Even during the period of León-Castilla's greatest weakness and vulnerability between 1109 and 1117, the successes of Sagrajas in 1086 and Uclés in 1108 were not to be repeated. Following the latter victory the Murābits did reclaim control over the route that followed the old Roman road from Sevilla to Zaragoza, especially in the lands to the east of Toledo. That process allowed them finally, in early 1110, to introduce their governor into Zaragoza, eliminating the independent rule of the taifa on the middle Ebro. It proved to be their last advance.

Despite the loss of outlying territories to the west, south, and east, Toledo itself withstood the sieges of 1110 and 1114, apparently with purely local resources. In the far west the rebellious county of Portugal also had to survive on its own resources and lost Santarem to the Murābits in 1111. But although the valley of the Tajo was lost, farther north on the Mondego Coimbra successfully withstood the siege of 1117.

The truce worked out by Urraca and Alfonso I in that year at Burgos allowed the latter to proceed to the definitive reconquest of Zaragoza and all its surrounding territory in 1118-1119. The next five years Alfonso spent in consolidating the results of that victory, and in 1125-1126 he was able to conduct a great razzia into the heart of al-Andalus. As for Urraca, her attention was more immediately directed to the west. By 1124, however, León-Castilla had been sufficiently stabilized to allow her to realize the reconquest of Sigüenza, Atienza, and Medinaceli, securing the eastern flank of Toledo and closing off the route from Seville to Zaragoza.

But although Urraca was fortunate in that the Murābit power had passed its peak at the beginning of her reign, the realm she inherited in 1109 had been developing manifest strains of its own. To a considerable extent, the kingdom of León-Castilla was a new creation of her father's. Castilla itself had a well-known history of separatism and had been a separate kingdom as recently as 1065-1072 under her uncle, Sancho II. The Rioja had been wrested from Navarra only in 1076. In addition, to the south, between the Duero and the Tajo and from the Atlantic to Medinaceli and Osma, a

huge block of new land that effectively doubled the size of the kingdom still needed to be properly assimilated and provided with the full machinery of government at her accession. Problems arising from these factors alone would have taxed the abilities of any monarch.

Additionally, however, the marriage and dynastic policy of her father had eventuated, by 1109, in the creation of factions within the kingdom and the very dynasty. The realm had too many potential heirs, all with obvious disabilities. Urraca's rule was threatened by the fact of her being a mere woman, but the immediate transfer of the realm to her four-year-old son, Alfonso Raimúndez, offered only the alternative of a regency and rule by cabal. The queen's half sister Teresa was illegitimate, but in Count Henry she had a powerful and able husband and the pair had already produced a male heir, Alfonso Enríquez. Writing little more than a century later, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada says that, in these circumstances the magnates of the realm counselled Alfonso VI to marry Urraca to a Castilian noble, Count Gómez González.[4] What exactly they had in mind by that choice is not made clear beyond the provision of male leadership and, perhaps, a balancing of factions within the realm. Such a choice, however, would inevitably have introduced the tensions inherent in Urraca's possible production of another, roughly coequal heir and claimant to the crown. It would also have reinforced the latent particularisms in the kingdom by suggesting the primacy of Castilla within it.

Alfonso VI rejected their advice in favor of the marriage of Urraca to Alfonso I of Aragón. This solution had the advantages of the promise of strong masculine rule by a proven warrior who stood outside and, by virtue of his kingly rank, above the factional divisions of León-Castilla, yet who was also a member by blood of its reigning dynasty. The old king's resolution of the dynastic problem was to founder on

[4] "De Rebus Hispaniae," *Opera*, ed. María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt (Valencia, 1968), 1:145-146.

no less than three rocks. First, Alfonso of Aragón proved to have insufficient power to compel acceptance of the arrangement. Second, the marriage did not result in the queen's conceiving a new heir with the requisite dispatch. Third, in these circumstances especially, the papal condemnation of the marriage on grounds of consanguinity made its continuance a political impossibility.

In a larger context, modern evaluations of the potential of the marriage have been unrealistic. Menéndez Pidal's assertion that "parece que la cooperación de los cuatro reinos cristianos va a ser eficacísimo y que su unión va a ser gloriosa y definitiva tres siglos antes de los Reyes Católicos" could be made only with the benefit of hindsight.[5] The crucial, if unconscious, assumption is that Portugal and Aragón would have continued to develop essentially as they subsequently did. The more likely eventuality, however, would have been a rallying of the west, including the provinces of Portugal, Galicia, and a large part of the north of modern Extremadura, around Alfonso Raimúndez, with Count Henry and Teresa as leaders of a regency. As their subsequent actions make quite clear, the initial ambitions of the two latter were focused on the throne of León-Castilla, not simply on an independent Portugal.[6] In the east, Rioja and Castilla would have adhered to Urraca and Alfonso with the possession of Asturias, León, the trans-Duero, and Toledo depending on

[5] *El imperio hispanico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid, 1950), p. 135.

[6] On the whole, our perceptions of the past are still colored by the nineteenth-century conviction that lurking beneath all the surface phenomena were the national states of western Europe awaiting some monarch "modern" enough to perceive them. Even a moderately revisionist work such as A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York, 1972), 1:39, sees independence as the aim, rather than the unintended result of the frustration, of Henry's policy. The most recent and most detailed study by Peter Feige, "Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirche," *GAKS* 29 (1978):85-352, recognizes more clearly than most the extent of Henry's ambitions in León-Castilla but is hampered in its evaluation of their prospects by an incomplete knowledge of developments outside the county of Portugal.

the fortunes of war. Under such circumstances, the conquest of Zaragoza might well have been impossible and the resultant rise of Aragón prevented.

Something of this sort very nearly occurred. By midsummer of 1110 Alfonso of Aragón had already failed to subdue Galicia by force, being unable to proceed beyond Lugo to Santiago de Compostela, and on his retreat from that province Astorga itself closed its gates to him. Papal condemnation of the marriage had already been secured and Urraca had not, evidently, conceived. Only that eventuality could have promised a possible reconciliation to the marriage by the church. In the county of Portugal, Count Henry bided his time.

Urraca's decision to end the marriage was thus the only acceptable political course left open to her. Together with the coronation of her son, which implied recognition of his position as eventual successor, it was her only means of retaining for herself the political leadership of the realm. But the sporadic support of Galicia, thus secured and added to the unwavering allegiance of Asturias and León, produced its own tensions when she bound the Castilian house of Lara to herself by a personal liaison. Such an act was not only likely to, but did indeed, result in the birth of a possible alternative heir. In any event, her policy initially met disaster in the twin defeats of Candespina and Viadangos in late 1111.

Urraca's new policy had forced the hand of Count Henry and Teresa, for the Leonese queen could offer a much less ambiguous alliance to the supporters of Alfonso Raimúndez in Galicia than could the latter couple as parents of the potential rival, Alfonso Enríquez. Count Henry joined with Alfonso of Aragón at Candespina on the promise of a partition of the realm that would have given him control of the west.[7]

[7] Like his ultimate intentions, the real extent of the role of Count Henry of Portugal in León-Castilla has never been appreciated. The assertion of "Las crónicas anónimas" that both Alfonso of Aragón and Urraca purchased his assistance in turn only at the price of a partition of the realm has

In defeat, however, Urraca displayed a marked ability as a diplomat that was, perhaps, her most remarkable talent. To detach Count Henry from her husband, she herself offered him control of the west and command of her forces. Because the count would secure much better title under such circumstances, he accepted even though war with Aragón must result. This truly desperate solution produced its own difficulties, and by the spring of 1112 Urraca retained leadership only in Asturias and, uneasily, in Galicia. Count Henry and Teresa had added the control of Zamora and Astorga to that of Portugal, and probably that of Salamanca as well. Alfonso of Aragón had overrun Castilla and León, the trans-Duero, and Toledo had recognized him. It was the timely death of Count Henry at Astorga in April 1112 that opened a way out of the impasse.

Teresa of Portugal may be presumed to have held the same ambitions as her late husband but she possessed two liabilities in her sex and her illegitimate birth. The Galicians now had little recourse but to support Urraca, and León swung back to her as well. Alfonso of Aragón negotiated with both Teresa and Urraca by turns but found himself forced back on Castilla by the end of 1112. The next four years saw a stalemate between the former royal couple, with neither side able to gain a decisive advantage.

This situation was ended by the Council of Burgos in February of 1117. There Urraca negotiated a truce that was to endure until her death nine years later and open the way to consolidation of her authority in most of the western and central portions of the peninsula. To that end she had to surrender the old policy of her father of protecting the former taifa of Zaragoza against Aragón, a policy that had marked out that region as the future prey of León-Castilla itself. Alfonso of Aragón had become increasingly con-

generally been ignored, perhaps because it lacked a convincing context. But the evidence for Count Henry's activities needs only to be brought together as, for instance, in José María Lacarra, "Dos documentos interesantes para la historia de Portugal," *RPH* 3 (1947):291-305.

vinced that the conquest of the important city on the middle Ebro was the key to his future fortunes. This conviction is understandable given the fact that the new possessions of tiny Aragón stretched in a great arc around Zaragoza from Rioja through Castilla to the trans-Duero and, ultimately, Toledo. The capture of the city would consolidate his holdings and remove the ever-present threat of attack anywhere along that perimeter. But to effect it he would need massive assistance, summoned from beyond the Pyrenees, and peace with Urraca.

The step taken at Burgos contributed directly to the emergence of the kingdom of Aragón as a power capable of threatening the hegemony of León-Castilla in the peninsula, resulting in an uneasy balance of power until their union under Ferdinand and Isabella. Urraca could hardly have foreseen so much, and indeed would have surrendered nothing if El Batallador had failed to take and hold Zaragoza. As it was, the Aragonese monarch's success in December 1118 involved him in the consolidation and rounding out of his new possessions southward through Calatayud and Daroca. This giant project occupied him almost entirely until 1124 and drew him into a great razzia into Andalusia in 1125 and 1126.

The Leonese queen meanwhile made brilliant use of her time. By associating her son, Alfonso Raimúndez, more closely with herself in 1117 and making Toledo and the trans-Duero an appanage for him, she drew him away from Bishop Gelmírez and Count Pedro Froilaz in Galicia, opening the way to a reassertion of her authority there. By satisfying her son's supporters and drawing upon legitimate dynastic feeling, she was able to make him an instrument of her policy in the south. In November 1117, when the king of Aragón was already securely enmeshed in his plans to conquer Zaragoza, she introduced the twelve-year-old into Toledo. During the following summer she regained control of the remainder of the trans-Duero. When in 1124 she reconquered Sigüenza, Atienza, and Medinaceli, Urraca was not only closing off not only the road northeast to Islam but also

the road southwest to El Batallador. It does seem that the conditions of her realm and the geography of the peninsula permitted little more.

In the west she was less successful. Her victory over Teresa near Braga in 1120 encouraged her to the most serious mistake of her career. Her brief seizure of the person of the great prelate Gelmírez exposed her to the threat of excommunication, which would certainly have meant her deposition in favor of her son. But by appealing directly to the pope she was able to disarm her enemies at home. By 1123 she had imprisoned the great Count Pedro Froilaz and isolated Gelmírez.

At the end of her reign her half sister Teresa was still independent in Portugal and held the valley of the Miño in southern Galicia as well. Alfonso of Aragón retained the Rioja and a long salient into Castilla from Burgos through Castrojeriz to Carrión de los Condes. Urraca, however, was able to leave to her son almost all Galacia and better than half of Castilla in addition to the provinces of Asturias, León, the trans-Duero, and Toledo. The threat of an independent Portugal was clear and a greater Aragón had already appeared, but given the initial conditions of her reign, it is difficult to see that the queen could have done much better.

The policy of Urraca is best described as traditional and conservative. Typically, she followed the potentially disastrous course of the marriage with Aragón, arranged by her father, until it became an impossibility. So, too, the intimates of her government had been the chosen counsellors of her father as well. The greatest of these was Archbishop Bernard of Toledo (1085-1125).[8] Once the Aragonese marriage, which he opposed, had been dropped, Bernard was the queen's most constant support, frequently her successful intercessor at the Roman court, and the mentor of her son from 1117,

[8] Archbishop Bernard still lacks an adequate biography. The best present account of his career, in Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo* XII (Rome, 1966), badly slights his political role because of its own particular focus.

in which capacity the primate was really vice-regent south of the Duero. Both Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1100-1130) and Bishop Pedro of Palencia (1108-1138) served the queen for the entire reign as the next most important clerical counsellors.

Of the lay figures of her government, Count Pedro González of Lara, her consort and the cornerstone of her strength in Castilla, had been her father's alférez as early as 1087. His brother, Rodrigo, had likewise been prominent in Alfonso's court. Count Pedro Ansúrez returned to court with the Aragonese marriage, in which he had probably been instrumental, and survived its breakup to serve the queen until 1118.[9] Count Froila Díaz served the monarchy from 1086 until his death in 1119. Count Suero Vermúdez did likewise from at least 1097 until 1125. The list is longer, but the point is clear that a remarkably stable group of magnates continued to form the core of the royal court from the reign of the father through that of his daughter.

There was, of course, disruption resulting from the dynastic problem. Bishop Gelmírez and Count Pedro Froilaz are the most obvious examples of men who had served her father but organized a party around Urraca's son after the death of Alfonso VI.[10] What is perhaps most striking is their

[9] Almost alone among the nobility of the period, the count has had the attention of a recent biographer, Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966). The work is helpful as a preliminary attempt to draw together the many facets of his activity, but it makes inadequate use of the abundant documentary evidence and necessarily suffers from any but the most old-fashioned perception of the historical environment in which the count lived and worked.

[10] Count Pedro Froilaz needs a modern biography, and the materials are adequate for one. The limitations of Antonio López Ferreiro, *Don Alfonso VII, Rey de Galicia, y su ayo el Conde de Traba* (Santiago de Compostela, 1885), almost a century old, are obvious. Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington, D.C., 1949), is only thirty years old but depends almost exclusively on the "Historia Compostelana" and the published sources. It requires extensive revision. Reyna Pastor de Togneri, "Diego Gelmírez, une mentalité à la page: A propos du rôle de certaines élites de pouvoir," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), 1:597-608, is based almost solely on the HC.

inability to gain adherents outside the province of Galicia itself, and even there the strength they could muster was limited. Another example is Guter Fernández, who was Urraca's majordomo until 1117 but who led the attempted coup in 1119 against the power of Count Pedro González and the policy of peace with Aragón. He too had been a court figure in her father's time. But again, he was able to find no substantial support and had to retire to private life as long as Urraca lived.

In the next most visible organ of royal government, the chancery, change and continuity appear to have been rather evenly balanced. The Visigothic remained the script of royal documents but there appears to have been no carryover of actual chancery officials from father to daughter. Also, the chancery of Urraca seems to have been larger and its activity greater. Still, the chancery of Alfonso VI has not been studied at all, and the style and usual substance of their charters do not differ appreciably.

The ecclesiastical policy of Urraca also reflects this traditionalism. There was no slackening of the crown's efforts to restore the bishoprics of the trans-Duero as the surest props of its authority there. To Alfonso VI's Toledo, Salamanca, and Osma, Urraca added Ávila, Zamora, Segovia, and Sigüenza. The primate of Toledo remained the chosen instrument of the crown for most purposes, lay and ecclesiastical, and Bernard and Urraca worked together both to elaborate a suitable metropolitan province for Toledo and to maintain its primatial and legatine authority over the whole peninsula. That effort necessarily involved Urraca in Toledo's quarrels with Braga and Santiago de Compostela, which coalesced with her political problems in Portugal and Galicia. In the end neither the papacy nor the crown could entirely withstand the popular and political pressures, and the ecclesiastical provinces of the peninsula were developed in the early 1120s in a way that reinforced the tendency toward political particularism for the remainder of the century. The center of Iberia, however, was brought firmly under Toledo's leadership.

Alfonso VI himself had had to recognize the growing papal authority in the western Church effected by the Gregorian reform. Under the difficult conditions of contemporary political challenges, however, Urraca was still able to secure papal support for essentially her own purposes. She avoided excommunication over the marriage question in 1110-1111 and was able to secure support at Rome in 1116 to quell revolt at Sahagún and so undermine the Aragonese position there. She got the papacy to bless her truce with Aragón in 1117 and even secured recognition for her rule and the predominance of Toledo from Calixtus II in 1121, when it seemed her excommunication for imprisoning Gelmírez was inevitable. The old connection with Cluny was generally maintained by a judicious extension of its authority over this or that Spanish monastery, although on the crucial question of the elevation of Santiago de Compostela to an archbishopric in 1120 the great Burgundian monastery yielded to the blandishments of Gelmírez.[11] Despite constraints from abroad and rivalries at home, Urraca seems to have been as effective in placing her choices in vacant bishoprics as her father had been. Even at Burgos, bitterly contested by Alfonso of Aragón, her candidates prevailed in both vacancies.

Of the episcopate of the kingdom of León-Castilla, only Braga and Santiago de Compostela eventually escaped the royal net and maintained a sturdy independence. Toward the close of the reign the fortunes of war would compel the bishops of Túy and Orense to recognize the patronage of Teresa of Portugal but Urraca's advantages were well utilized nevertheless. Even at Coimbra she could employ the rivalry with Braga to secure that bishop's recognition of Toledo as

[11] Cluniac influence in the peninsula has been the object of a wide variety of studies by Charles Julian Bishko, the single, most important of which is "Fernando I y los orígenes de la alianza castellano leonesa con Cluny," *CHE* 47-48 (1968):31-135, and 49-50 (1969):50-116. Most recently Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien* (Kallmünz, 1974), has extended Bishko's work and emphasized the similarity of Urraca's policy in this area to that of Alfonso VI.

metropolitan. The royal largesse was used to attach Bishop Muño of Mondoñedo to the royal camp even though he had been originally the protégé of Gelmírez. Finally, the choice of Toledo as primary instrument meant that Archbishop Bernard would fill the sees of the trans-Duero with bishops of French origin like himself. But it is to be noted that Urraca took care that such a practice did not extend to the key bishoprics of Burgos, León, or Astorga, in the royal heartland.

The civil administration of the countryside of the kingdom offers an even more static picture. Castilla was the exception. Due to the emergency conditions created there by the Aragonese seizure of the lands along the pilgrim road, the authority of the Lara counts, Pedro and Rodrigo, seems to have been greatly extended to the north and south of that salient. In the province of León comital power was almost unknown, and when the death of Pedro Ansúrez offered the opportunity, Urraca seems to have pursued the breakup of the large Ansúrez holdings, resuming the policy adopted by Alfonso VI from 1103. Nor did Urraca depart from her father's practice in not appointing a count in Asturias de Oviedo, governing in that province also by means of castellans.

In Galicia the comital structure remained strong and well developed, and Urraca maintained her strength there by alliance with the counts of the eastern part of the province and the bishops of Lugo and Mondoñedo. The shifting fortunes of war and rebellion made any structural change impossible. The attempt to reclaim the secular señorio of Gelmírez in 1120 had to be abandoned, and even after the imprisonment of Count Pedro Froilaz in 1123 his county remained intact and in the hands of his son, Fernando Pérez.

The only evidence of peaceful, deliberate changes comes from the territories of Astorga and Bierzo. In the former, apparently no count was named after the death of Froila Díaz in 1119. On the other hand, in Bierzo about the same time the authority of Count Suero Vermúdez of Luna was ex-

tended north into western Asturias around Tineo and perhaps eastward as well.

It is clear that the comital structure was not extended into the trans-Duero. Until his death in 1114, Alvar Fáñez enjoyed almost viceregal authority in and around Toledo. For the next three years that city and the trans-Duero generally were almost lost to Urraca's authority. From late 1117, though, the royal government of the area rested with Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, acting in the name of Alfonso Raimúndez, and with his new suffragan bishops being emplaced from Zamora to Sigüenza. There was, however, a steady strengthening of the señorio of Fernando Garciaz, probably a cousin of Urraca, in the upper basin of the Tajo.

Overall, then, while Urraca seems to have maintained the structures she inherited from her father, she seems also to have realized some small gains in bringing the center of the kingdom under more direct royal control. Here above all, however, it must be recalled that the history of her father's reign has yet to be written. When that has been done, more contrasts may appear.

This consideration of rural administration is, from another perspective, a revelation of the royal policy toward the nobility of the realm as well. As discussed above, the great magnates of the court remained largely unchanged from the reign of Urraca's father. But it has also been asserted that Urraca was particularly and increasingly dependent on the great nobles and the bishops in a struggle against the minor nobility and the burghers of the towns, a strife that represented a more fundamental social phenomenon than did her battle with Alfonso of Aragón, whose partisans these latter were.[12] Such generalizations appear to me to be partial and premature when they are not simply wrong.

Current comparisons of the contents of the charters of Al-

[12] Carmen Estepa Díez, "Sobre revueltas burguesas en el siglo XII en el reino de León," *AL* 55-56 (1974):292, and Charles E. Dufourcq and Jean Gautier-Dalché, *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Espagne chrétienne au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1976), p. 76.

fonso VI and Urraca do not reveal greater alienations under the latter. It is clear that the queen depended on the great house of Lara in Castilla, on the house of the López of Haro in Rioja, on the near-hereditary counts of Astorga, the Bierzo, and eastern Galicia, and on the episcopal power everywhere. But against this must be set her alliances with the minor nobility of western Galicia, Asturias, and the Leonese territory itself. Moreover, it is increasingly clear that the bishops were, for the most part, creatures of the crown. On the whole, it appears that the magnates and the prelates were quite as divided and particularist as the society as a whole and that the existence of any unified social class with a definite consciousness of its interests remains a hypothesis yet to be satisfactorily demonstrated.

Generalizations about the relationship of the towns and the crown during the reign of Urraca seem subject to the same reservations. It does seem a fairly established fact that the eastern and central trans-Duero had been largely populated by a southwestward drift from Castilla la Vieja and that an economy marked, in some measure, by an emphasis on stock herding was coming into being there.[13] But that these two factors had combined by Urraca's time to produce unique governmental institutions in that area simply cannot be documented. If anything, the documents illustrate that traditional and political necessities led to a replication in that region of the castellan-bishop-council triad of urban authorities quite as common north of the Duero. Current investigations seem to suggest that it was the extent of the authority exercised rather than its nature that was distinctive. The great extent of the urban alfoz seems not to be called into question by the problems surrounding the nature of the fueros. Rather, it is even suggested by the silence of other documents concerning the presence of other officials in the countryside.

Indeed, the region marked most strongly by a distinctive

[13] José Ángel García de Cortázar, *Historia de España Alfaguera*, vol. 2, *La época medieval* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 234-237.

variety of urban government was Galicia, where every city seems to have been an episcopal señorio. That institutional peculiarity also parallels the extraordinary vigor of the countship there. But again, both phenomena seem to have been an earlier development and were, by the beginning of Urraca's reign, already established institutions.

Caution also is in order in characterizing the much-discussed town revolts along the Camino de Santiago during the reign. To what extent they were the product of identical forces remains to be investigated. The scholarship of this century has tended to see them all as a manifestation of the burgher class and its desires for greater autonomy in both the political and economic spheres.[14] Ultimately that hypothesis may be proved sound.

In the present state of research, however, some limitations remain. In the revolts at Lugo in 1110 and León in 1119, we cannot be certain even that the burghers were the directing force. At Burgos, Castrojeriz, and Carrión de los Condes we are told by "Las crónicas anónimas" only that they were. What they hoped to achieve and how they intended to achieve it are matters on which we can only speculate. Given that the urban concejo seems to have been a familiar phenomenon, some additional powers for it or some greater influence vis-à-vis the officers of the crown may well have been at issue. On the other hand, the possibility exists that even the burghers had properly political loyalites and preferences. The revolts of Toledo in 1114 and 1117 and of Segovia in 1114 and 1118 may offer an analogy. In these cases it is certain that the general need for protection by a strong monarchy was the predominant consideration.

Finally, even in the revolts at Santiago de Compostela in 1116-1117 and at Sahagún in 1111-1116, investigation to date has concentrated on the valuable accounts preserved in the "Historia Compostelana" and "Las crónicas anónimas de

[14] Above all in Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval* (Barcelona, 1973).

Sahagún." Much remains to be done in the sifting of the documentary evidence, even in the case of Santiago de Compostela, and at Sahagún particularly the evidence needs to be reexamined, for some of it was obviously fabricated. Even so, it is clear that the conditions of the two communities diverged significantly. At Compostela a concejo already existed, and the struggle for its control demonstrated that the burghers had allies within the cathedral chapter itself. At Sahagún there is no evidence for the existence of a concejo at all, and the opposition between the abbot and monks of the monastery and the burghers of the town appears to have been clear-cut. Broad characterizations, then, remain tentative and provisional, pending future study.

Here as everywhere, the first essential in an evaluation or understanding of the significance of the reign of Urraca is a sense of the novelty of the situation she confronted. Our tendency is to take the realm of León-Castilla as a given and the emergence of an independent Portugal and Aragón as inevitable. But León and Castilla themselves had been separate kingdoms as recently as both the beginning and the end of the reign of her grandfather, Fernando I. They would resume separate status following the reign of her son, Alfonso VII.

To this unstable center, the conquests of Fernando I had added the trans-Duero and northern Portugal, those of Alfonso VI the Rioja and the taifa of Toledo. These accretions more than doubled the total area that had then to be ruled with essentially the same political instruments. And throughout this territory a process of growth and development was at work that reflected itself in the relationships both within and among the church, the nobility, and the towns.

Under the most regular of circumstances a period of consolidation and adjustment would have been necessary for the newly swollen realm of León-Castilla during the first quarter of the eleventh century. It is not at all surprising that the government of Urraca should prove to be traditional and largely concerned with elaborating and extending proven in-

stitutions, striving to hold past gains, and making marginal additions to them as circumstances permitted. What is surprising, given the magnitude of the dynastic crisis that she inherited and the novelty of her own position as reigning queen, is the great extent to which she succeeded in these endeavors.

In 1126 Urraca left to her son a realm internally at peace. That in itself is remarkable. On the other hand, in the as yet tiny territory of Portugal, her half sister Teresa maintained a stubborn defiance and a de facto independence, unbroken since 1109. The solution of that essentially dynastic fracture had defied Urraca's best efforts. It was perhaps not yet irreparable but it was eventually to frustrate her son as well.

To the east Urraca's policy had allowed scope to the remarkable talents of El Batallador, who had more than doubled the size of Aragón by the conquest of the taifa of Zaragoza and retained Rioja and part of Castilla as well. But the queen, despite her difficulties, had denied to the Aragonese monarch the trans-Duero and Toledo. Rather than him, her son was to be *El Emperador*. In addition, she had so maintained the prestige and influence of the Leonese monarchy that Aragonese control in eastern Castilla would prove brief and Rioja itself could be reclaimed easily at Alfonso I's death in 1134.

It is difficult to see, given where she started, that Urraca could have done more. Reflecting that her son, Alfonso VII, who began with markedly fewer disabilities, was unable to reclaim either Portugal, even after Teresa and Alfonso Enríquez became avowed enemies in 1127-1128, or Zaragoza, after the death of Alfonso I in 1134 fractured the Aragonese kingdom, it is possible to wonder whether anyone could have done more, given the limitations of central government in the early eleventh century.

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